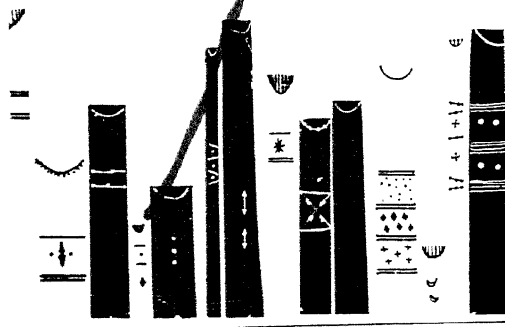


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## SOUTHWEST HERITAGE





# SOUTHWEST HERITAGE

A LITERARY HISTORY WITH BIBLIOGRAPHY

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Second Edition - - Revised and Enlarged

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## PREFACE

Ten years ago the authors presented to the public the first edition of *SOUTHWEST HERITAGE*, "a book about books and the place in which they were written." The Preface as written then needs little change to serve for this new edition, and most of it is incorporated here.

The central plan of *SOUTHWEST HERITAGE* has been retained: a division of the literature into three parts, devoted to the Indian and Spanish materials in the region, before Anglo-American contacts were felt; the nineteenth century publications in English, covering all the literary types and reporting all levels of experience, from the elemental and naive to the scientific and artistic; the twentieth century writing which contributes to the stream of books and periodicals from both national and regional presses. A comparison of the earlier edition of *SOUTHWEST HERITAGE* with the present one will show that Part One has been largely rewritten; substantial new materials have been introduced into Part Two and Part Three; a new chapter, "Children's Literature," has been added to the book; the entire work has been revised in the light of new creative trends and a decade of active production in the varied writing fields.

For material used in the chapter on Southwestern books for children the authors are indebted to Faye Devine of Tucson, Arizona, and to Siddie Joe Johnson, children's librarian at the Dallas Public Library. Miss Johnson also gave indispensable aid in the preparation of the bibliography of juveniles. Frances Gillmor, author and folklorist at the University of Arizona, contributed helpful suggestions about Arizona writing. In this new volume, the general bibliography of selected titles has been both revised and expanded, with annotations as to the first and the available editions.

*SOUTHWEST HERITAGE* is a book of the community of different peoples in a land somewhere very old to habitation, somewhere very new, somewhere very savage and harsh to invading man, and somewhere very friendly and mild. But everywhere man has gone in the Southwest, he has been stirred

in heart to sing or dance or write or paint the thoughts, the prayers, the episodes of his life and the life of his people. Most of the literature has this significance: that it is written close to the need of the heart for song, to the need of the mind for words. Much of it is still unrecorded; perhaps the largest and best part is writing itself now in the turn of civilization for all the groups who have colonized here. What is of record will be of great interest as the soil of nurture for what is to come.

This outline of Southwestern literature is not just bibliography and details of book lore, but a guide to the life-relationships which have made the Southwest a unique and vital center of American culture. Culture is deeper than its overtones of travel, leisure, and sophisticated learning. We believe the culture stream of a vital folk is mirrored in its literature. And it is to chart the currents of this stream and to survey the topography through which it flows that we have combined our points of view.

The book is arranged to be useful as a guide to formal study. It will succeed if it leads the student to follow not only the discussions in the text, but to supplement or change the emphasis there by independent studies of his own in the larger bibliography at the back, where authors, titles, and types are given more detailed listing.

Writing in the Southwest is an important chapter in American literature. This volume is the first attempt to give an orderly account of it, to indicate the trends and relations of the writings and writers. In exploring unmapped territory the authors may at times have chosen the wrong landmarks, but we believe the general outlines are true and clear. It is to be hoped that the helpful criticisms of other explorers will correct our map, and that it will prove a useful guide to all the children of Coronado who seek treasure in the Southwest.

MABEL MAJOR  
REBECCA W. SMITH  
T. M. PEARCE

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## INTRODUCTION

THE SOUTHWEST as an area of American culture has been variously defined. At the beginning of the nineteenth century the name was given to the lands occupied by the Five Civilized Tribes of Indians east of the Mississippi, the lower Mississippi Valley, and the adjacent Spanish territories to the west of it. Historians now speak of that as the "Old Southwest." Today the term "Southwest" is sometimes used to designate the upper Rio Grande Valley in New Mexico and the arid lands surrounding it. But to most people, not only students but travelers and business men and dwellers in the region, the Southwest includes the region from the Mississippi Valley westward to the valley of the Colorado River, and from the broad watersheds of the Arkansas on the north to the Mexican border on the south. That is to say, approximately the states of Arkansas, Texas, Oklahoma, New Mexico, and Arizona. The "Southwest" is a term more easily felt and understood than defined, like the "Orient" and the "West." It connotes the final thrust of American colonization toward the south and west, the last push of the frontier into new lands. Here the Old South and the West joined to wrest a borderland from the aborigines and the Spanish, and, in turn, to fuse with them in a new pattern of living.

Geographically the Southwest, as we have defined it, is very diverse. To the east it is a wooded country with sufficient rainfall for rich agricultural crops of rice, grain, and, especially, cotton. Then, irregularly, at the timber line or about the ninety-eighth meridian, rise the semi-arid plains naturally adapted to grazing; and farthest west is an arid desert broken by narrow, rich river valleys and high, timbered mountains. The region has hot summers and, on the whole, temperate winters, except in the higher altitudes. Over all, the southern sun shines brilliantly; and the wind blows almost continuously, whether the Gulf breeze, the dry plains wind, or the sudden cold northers. Sun and wind and ever wider horizons greet the traveler who journeys to the Southwest.

Racially and politically, the Southwest has been the home



of many peoples: Indians, Spaniards, Mexicans, Anglo-Americans, immigrant Europeans of different nationalities, Negroes. In this respect it is like other American frontiers but with a salient difference, that here each race has stubbornly remained rooted and so has become a part of its modern life. The present culture is therefore cosmopolitan and diverse, the result of the mingling of geographical and racial and economic elements.

Just as the older historians were too long preoccupied with political events, so students of literature have characteristically limited themselves too closely to habitual language and racial patterns. Most Americans, young and old, have read only books made in the traditions of Europe and written in the English language. It would be desirable and profitable to include in this guide to the literature and life of the Southwest all the works, oral and recorded, in Indian, Spanish, English, and other tongues, that have sprung from the section. Some day we shall attain that breadth of vision. This study does undertake to consider much writing besides belles lettres and much that is derived from languages other than English. However, in a limited space we can include only works written in English or those available in translation. Moreover, we shall frankly relate all other cultures in the Southwestern scene to our contemporary American life. There are good reasons besides expediency for our doing this. While civilization here is greatly enriched by contacts with other cultures and languages, today the dominant strain seems clearly to be Anglo-American, with its ever increasing tendency to spread its influence and to absorb its competitors. Inevitably, then, we adopt America in the Southwest as a focal point, and set as our goal an understanding of the region, past and present, a vision of it as it is related to its own contours and resources and to the rest of the world with which it is now so inextricably entangled. To see how the region is unique and, at the same time, how it is like other areas will surely deepen our comprehension of its cultural values.

We have repeatedly used the word culture. What do we mean by culture? Not merely refinement or education or esthetic appreciation, but the "round of life in its entire sweep of

individual activities.”<sup>1</sup> We mean every way in which a group of homogeneous people continuously adapt themselves to living successfully in a given environment: food, shelter, clothes, warfare, transportation and travel, worship, marriage and rearing children, property rights.

The unifying element in culture is the body of ideas and beliefs a people hold; but the factors that determine such ideas seem to be primarily socio-economic forces. In other words, the culture of the Eskimo centers in his food, clothes, travel, basic ideas. He builds a domelike house of snow, eats blubber, uses dogs for transportation, and chooses his wife according to his own ideas of female desirability. All this springs directly from his Arctic background. The Euro-American, on the other hand, builds a boxlike house of wood, stone, or cement; eats grain and vegetables and fruit as well as meat; travels over land or through water or air propelled by machines; and finds women fair for his own reasons. These two cultures are clearly different. Most groups have complex blends of cultures, the result of historical and geographical contacts with other peoples. For example, the Southwest reveals a confusing complexity in its culture traits whether we study the early peoples who lived here or the present dwellers.

We can show plainly what we mean by culture traits and also illustrate the influence of geographical areas by considering briefly the Indians who were the earliest inhabitants of the Southwest about whom we have any knowledge.<sup>2</sup> The map of the region shows a broad woodland area in the Arkansas and Red River Valleys and along the eastern Gulf coast where several tribes of Indians lived, among them the Quapaws, Cad-dos, Wacos, and Tankawans. These tribes, especially the Quapaws, shared the basic cultural habits of their eastern neighbors across the Mississippi. They were farmers, living in settled houses, eating maize and vegetables and melons; they wore clothes of skin, made good baskets and fair pottery, and held elaborate agricultural rituals. Those tribes to the west, however, such as the Wacos, tended to blend woodland traits with certain plains ways. On the adjacent plains roamed such tribes as the Comanches, Apaches, Kiowas, and Wichitas, who

1. Clark Wissler, *Man and Culture* (1932), p. 2.

2. Clark Wissler, *The American Indian* (1931, second ed.), Ch. XIV.

characteristically hunted and ate the buffalo, wore buffalo skin clothes, lived in movable skin tipis, rode constantly on their wiry ponies,<sup>3</sup> made no pottery or baskets but did excellent bead and leather work, and preserved a warlike sun dance ritual. They had contact on the west with the sedentary pueblo folk that lived along the rivers or in protected valleys. Certain border tribes mingled the plains and pueblo characteristics, as was the case with the Navajos; but the typical pueblo culture was distinct. They dwelt, as they still do, in adobe houses or shelters in the cliffs, farmed intensively to raise grain and melons, domesticated a few animals and fowls, wove cloth for their loose garments, made baskets and particularly fine pottery, and cultivated elaborate rituals for social, agricultural, and religious ends.

How clear a picture we thus have of the influence of regional differences on the lives of primitive peoples. These distinctions are still apparent among the Indians. No tourist should confuse a Taos with a Navajo Indian; certainly no Oklahoma teacher should fail to consider the temperamental divergences between a Kiowa and a Cherokee in the classroom. We have cited these comparisons, however, to suggest that similar differences between dwellers in the woodland and plains and arid areas of the Southwest still persist among the modern inhabitants and may be understood today by any sensitive observer as well as by scholars and artists. A white pillared home in Little Rock is as fitting among the tall trees there as a ranch house on the plains of West Texas or an adobe *casa* in Albuquerque. You may properly order ham and hominy in the piney woods country of East Texas, but take beef on the plains, and fowl and fruit along the Rio Grande. In the same manner, the books that emanate from the Southwest reflect these differences if they are true to the background. More subtly but just as surely the poems and chronicles are shaped by the land and the peoples who live there.

Geography is not the sole factor in determining culture. Races adapt themselves according to their previous history and the time-spirit. Thus the Indians inhabiting the woodland-

3. See Walter P. Webb, *The Great Plains* (1931), Chapter III, for the introduction of the horse, among the Plains Indians, by the Spaniards in the sixteenth century.

plains-desert-area of the Southwest from the dawn of historic times until the coming of the European white man conformed to the conditions imposed upon them by sky and land, with no apparent desire to break the regional pattern.

Early in the sixteenth century the *conquistadores* of Spain carried the cross and their gorgeous banners northward along the coasts of the Gulf and the Pacific and over the line of the Rio Grande into the Indians' land. They meant to establish a New Spain for gold and glory and the salvation of heathen souls. In 1528 Cabeza de Vaca, one of a party of explorers, was shipwrecked on Galveston Island and wandered for eight years before he reported his strange adventures to the Spanish officials in Mexico City. In 1541-42 Hernando De Soto led his men up the Mississippi and over much of what is now Arkansas and Oklahoma before he was struck down by disease and buried secretly in the great river. Meanwhile the Spanish leaders in Mexico were still eager to spread their power by sending overland expeditions northward. In 1540 Francisco Vásquez de Coronado set out with a large train, sending ahead of him the Franciscan, Fray Marcos, and the Moor, Estevanico, who had been a castaway with De Vaca. Coronado first explored the upper Rio Grande Valley but found no gold, and therefore pushed on across the Llano Estacado and perhaps into what is now Kansas before he turned back, baffled by the sunburnt plains. Not until 1595, when Juan de Oñate was commissioned to colonize New Mexico, did the Spanish get firm hold on the territory that lies above El Paso del Norte. It remained under Spanish rule for two centuries and a quarter; the native Indians were officially converted to Christianity; and a new race of intermingled blood was reared.

To the east the Spanish colonized less diligently. Only in 1684 when the French Chevalier La Salle attempted to claim the wooded region from La Vaca Bay up into the Red River Valley were the Spanish officials aroused to send expeditions of soldiers and priests into what is now southeast Texas to found missions and forts. In the eighteenth century chess game of war, played in the Old World and the New, Spain won these western borderlands; but Mexico declared its independence in 1821. Then the border country offered irresistible attractions to hardy, land-hungry Americans who wanted new fron-

tiers and trading opportunities.<sup>4</sup> First they poured into Texas, and within two decades rebelled against Mexico, established the Republic of Texas in 1836, and were annexed as a state in the Union in 1845. The tide of English-speaking immigrants into the rest of the Southwest, despite prohibitions and treaties, could not be stemmed. It was an integral part of the great frontier migration. The Santa Fe Trail lured traders to the upper Rio Grande Valley; the territory allotted to the Indians could not be denied to the competitive Americans. A picture of the progress of American settlement is the succession of new states added to the Union.<sup>5</sup> The woodland regions were possessed first; the plains and arid sections later.

Besides the Indians, Spanish-speaking peoples, and English-speaking Americans, other peoples came to the Southwest, though less powerful in numbers. The settlers from the Old South brought their Negroes to the farming sections, where they are still a large and economically important part of the population. In the middle of the nineteenth century, French and German immigrants established colonies, the Germans notably near San Antonio. Except for the white man's virtual expulsion of the Indians from Arkansas and Texas, however, these races have tended to settle in communities, neither overwhelming nor exterminating each other.

It is easy to see the differences between the various areas and races that meet in the Southwest. It is more important to look beneath the surface of its life to see the unifying forces, the traits common to the whole. We have already noted the prevalence of sun and wind and wide horizons; the persisting frontier; the tenacity with which the many races remain on the soil perpetuating themselves and accepting each other. Such forces operate all the more freely in a land where there is still room enough to turn round in, a land which is not industrialized or urbanized to any great degree.

It is more difficult to point out specifically the common customs and attitudes of the region, but we may suggest some of

4. See F. L. Paxson, *History of the American Frontier* (1924), Chapters XVI, XXXIV, LVI, LIX.

5. Arkansas (with Missouri) admitted as a territory 1812, as a state 1836; Texas as a state 1845; Oklahoma (with Indian Territory) as a territory 1890, as a state 1907; New Mexico as a territory 1850, as a state 1912; Arizona (with New Mexico) as a territory 1892, as a state 1909.

them. Southwesterners live much out of doors, working and amusing themselves and often eating under the open sky. They travel much and cover long distances for business or pleasure. Where one can see twenty-five miles to the horizon, mileage shrinks. They are inclined to be informal, friendly, unconventional in manner, speech, and dress, except the more prosperous women, who often follow fashion's dictates. They are confident and optimistic, especially in economic enterprises, and inclined to take long chances. Why not, they subconsciously reason, in a land where drouth or flood, oil or gold or sulphur may suddenly dislocate planned and prudent frugality? In a region that seems destined to preserve frontier conditions longer than the rest of America, the inhabitants move about, change their plans, rebuild their dwellings, and cheerfully begin again.

These attitudes are reflected in the changing ways of the older groups, the groups which by Anglo-American standards are regressive and primitive. The Indian is less and less a primitive in his customs every day, what with soil conservation introducing small dams and windmill wells for grazing areas, and list furrows for dry farming. The Indian riding a tractor is no less noble than his forbears, but he has new means to live in harmony with nature. The little Spanish towns will not be long without neon signs and the disturbing world awareness brought by radio. Inevitable is the march of modern scientific living, but the spirit and manner of a people change gradually. There are centuries of a slower tempo, of an easier courtesy, and a less material advance lingering in the Southwest.

Literature is a mirror in which this unchanging land of the Southwest and its changing panorama of peoples are reflected. At first simple and unselfconscious, it recorded achievement and action. It was utilitarian and practical. As leisure has increased, belles lettres have flourished; today writers can live and make a living in Dallas and Santa Fe and Oklahoma City. Native critics begin to take stock of cultural resources and to evaluate artistic achievements. This self-consciousness is a sign of approaching artistic maturity.

The most pointed literary criticism the Southwest has produced has centered about the doctrines loosely known as regionalism. This creed, which was formulated and christened in

America shortly after 1918, is at bottom a protest against the mechanization and regimentation of modern life. It seeks its justification in those recent findings of social scientists that relate man to his environment. To create literature, most regionalists will agree, we must root ourselves in an environment, and even then we can produce only such blossoms and fruit as are proper to it; otherwise we are a weedy growth. This generalization is probably as much agreement as could be secured among the regionalists, who apply the central principle in divers directions. Thus the Nashville Agrarians would use literature to restore the intrinsic values of the ante-bellum South; while the Middle Western group have leanings toward social and economic liberalism. In the Southwest the literary movement has concerned itself chiefly with the arts and so has avoided public controversy, perhaps at the cost of vitality.

Regionalism in the Southwest has been variously understood. B. A. Botkin, spokesman of the Oklahoma group during the heyday of the matter, defines it from four angles: *localistic* with roots in one place, *naturistic* with roots in the land and the folk, *traditional* with roots in personal heritage, and *cultural* with roots in inter-regional backgrounds. Such a view is broad enough to challenge a hearing and to inspire creative writers. Indeed, Mr. Botkin's *Folk-Say* (1929-31) and *Space* (1934) did so. The trouble is that so comprehensive a creed permits of different interpretations and heresies not only among the infidels but among the believers. Therefore, as early as 1929, the *Southwest Review*, then edited by John H. McGinnis and Henry Smith, opened its pages to outstanding Southwestern writers for a Symposium on Regionalism. "Do you think the Southwest landscape and common traditions," the editors asked, "can (or should) develop a culture recognizable as unique and as more satisfying and profound than our present imported culture and art?" The responses, as published in the *Review*, sum up the whole problem. Need for contact with the land, the perils of over-standardization, the rich heritage of the past are stressed; but warnings are sounded against provincialism and sentimental romanticism.<sup>6</sup>

6. A discussion of regionalism will be found in the following publications: Mary Austin in *English Journal*, XXI (February, 1932), 97-107. Joseph E. Baker

So stands the case for regionalism in the Southwest as a specific literary movement. Undoubtedly it was sometimes too glibly accepted as a final word, and as often it was ballyhooed; but it was and still is an important influence. Out of it continue to come good results.<sup>7</sup> The discussion itself stirred intellectual activity and bred new critics and bold little magazines. It has stimulated creative writing in many fields, fostered regional presses, and encouraged bookshops.<sup>8</sup>

The discussion of regionalism is by no means the only manifestation of the critical spirit in the Southwest. Much good literary appreciation appears in the various periodicals and newspapers. Book pages in the press of the larger cities review current books with considerable attention to writings near home, maintaining, in some cases, a high standard of values. The most consistent of them are, naturally, those which are conducted over a long period by a good editor. John H. McGinnis and Lon Tinkle have made the *Dallas News* book section a respected arbiter in literary circles, as have editors of book reviews in newspapers in Oklahoma City, Tulsa, Galveston, Amarillo, El Paso, and elsewhere. *The Southwest Review*, *The New Mexico Quarterly Review*, *The Arizona Quarterly*,

7. Henry Nash Smith in an essay written in 1942 ("The Southwest: An Introduction," *The Saturday Review of Literature* XXV (May 16, 1942) 5-6) points out that the schools of regional criticism contributed to overthrow the standards of the genteel tradition which so thoroughly permeated American thought in the nineteenth century. The regional critics objected to an "ideal of a cultivation and refinement of the human being without reference to place and social setting" and maintained "the human need for a harmonious adjustment to nature—not an abstraction, but a specific, tangible terrain; and to society—not a featureless aggregate, but a concrete group of individual persons engaged in a joint enterprise, governed by shared references to a historical tradition, and bound together by the common conditions of their life."

8. Among the non-commercial presses and publishers of books in the Southwest are the presses of the University of Oklahoma, the University of New Mexico, the University of Texas, Southern Methodist University, and such societies as the Quivira Society and the Book Club of Texas.

and Paul Robert Beath in *Saturday Review of Literature*, XV (November 28, 1936). B. A. Botkin in *Frontier Midland*, XIII (May, 1933), 286-96; *English Journal*, XXV (March, 1936), 181-4. John D. Clark, Kyle Crichton, John Gould Fletcher, Philip Stevenson, Dudley Wynn in *New Mexico Quarterly*, V (February and May, 1935), 7-14, 21-26, 40-47, 71-87. Paul Horgan in *Southwest Review*, XVII (Summer, 1933), 329-59. Carey McWilliams in University of Washington Chapbook Series, No. 46 (1930). T. M. Pearce in *New Mexico Quarterly*, I (August, 1931), 195-209; *New Mexico Historical Review*, VII (July, 1932), 210-32; *Space*, I (September, 1934), 63. Symposium in *Southwest Review*, XIII (Summer, 1929). Lowry Wimberly in *Prairie Schooner*, VI (Spring, 1932), 214-21.



*Harlow's Weekly*, and other journals contain reviews and critical articles. An even wider reading public is touched by the group of critics with Southwestern backgrounds whose reviews and articles relating to the region appear in eastern magazines: Eda Lou Walton, R. L. Duffus, Elizabeth Shepley Sergeant, Burton Rascoe, and others.

There is now a sufficient body of Southwestern writing and a widespread enough interest to justify a literary history of the subject. The authors of SOUTHWEST HERITAGE will apply three standards of value. First, we recognize the informative records and chronicles and descriptions. Second, we appreciate racy and indigenous revelations of character and custom, however crudely set down. Finally, we seek beautiful expressions of the human spirit, whether in the chant of the Indian, the folktale of the backwoodsman, the limpid style of a modern novel, or the clean-cut prose of a scholar. The quality of Southwestern experience caught in memorable words—that is our quest.

PART ONE

LITERATURE BEFORE THE COMING OF THE  
ANGLO-AMERICAN, TO 1800



## I

### POETRY AND PROSE OF THE INDIAN

THE TRADITIONS of the American Indian are more evident in the Southwest than in any other section of America, because many of the Southwestern Indians have continued to live in the same places where their ancestors built permanent homes more than a thousand years ago. Poetry and story telling among them have been intimately associated with localities in which they have lived for centuries, during which they built up myths about the forces in the universe, legends about the heroes and leaders who moved freely between god-world and man-world, and folktales about friends and neighbors, animal as well as human. The mythology of the American Indians is a storehouse of imaginative beauty and spiritual significance. Prometheus, befriender of mankind in Greek myth, giver of fire, is no more splendid than Johona'ai, the Turquoise Man of the Navajos, carrier of the sun. The Roman Jupiter never sent his messengers to mankind with greater dignity than the mysterious Shalakos approach the pueblo of Zuñi in December to bless there the new houses and the indwellers. The Indian is today the greatest practitioner in America of verbal literary arts, both in poetry and prose. Although some books have been prepared by Indians, they have not yet fully learned to practice these arts in English. We must depend upon interpreters who know the Indian, his thinking, and his speech. We are fortunate to have so much of the treasure of Indian imagination, wisdom, and wit made known to us through their efforts.

#### INDIAN POETRY

All poetry has aboriginal roots. Poetry in English goes back to lines sung to the chords of a harp and later recorded in manuscripts, which show these lines and the rhythmic pauses but leave no marks of the musical tones in which the poet sang. Early poetry in other tongues was also sung. David, the poet of the *Psalms*, sang before Saul, and his words of the wisdom of Jehovah and the beauty of his handiwork were recorded for future generations. Yet the modern reader does not hear the

tones of David chanting. We read only his words, rich in thought and imagery, but divorced from the wealth of sound they carried as the poet himself delivered them.

The poetry of the American Indian is nearly all sung poetry, chanted to the tone and rhythm of drum beats, occasionally with flute notes added, and frequently with sounds of gourd or shell rattles. The singers are shamans or Medicine Men, singing for the blessing of hidden powers, the forces in nature which can cure illness, produce an abundant harvest, bring victory in war, bless new homes, guide the individual and the tribe along The Road of Life and Death. Very little modern European or American poetry is written in this primitive mood of thankfulness or awesomeness toward nature. It is necessary then for a modern reader who wants to appreciate the poetry of the Indian first to understand the world of thought and feeling in which it was composed. The Southwestern Indians have a unified view of Nature and Man, expressed with varied symbolism and various rites in a dozen or more tribal nations. Life and death are not separate forms of existence, but one *living* under different circumstances within the same spiritual environment. The world in which the Indian lives this present life is a world alive with forces identical with those in the after-life. The sky, earth, mountains, animals, streams, springs, and rocks have an inner nature as vital as man's, and this inner nature with its supernatural forces may be either malevolent or benign. The Indian tries then, through his poetry (which is one with his religion), to live in harmony with universal forces, for he knows that he is a part of nature, dependent upon nature for his survival and for his peace of mind.

The second fundamental difference between Indian poetry and European and American poetry is that the Indian expression is largely impersonal. Poetry is not often a medium for his personal experience, but is generally expressed in the interests of others and their well-being. Indian poetry is not so introspective and subjective as most modern poetry. Song is not simply self-expression among the Indians, but expression to relate him to the outer powers, to "Those Above," the friends or potential enemies in the world about him. In a sense, Indian poets are always "Poet Laureate," chosen for their fine character as well as for their literary gifts. The songs they

sing are considered as gifts from "supernatural powers," as in old English times the poet Caedmon received his gift of song from God. Frank Linderman, in his book *American*, tells how a young Indian boy fasted for days on a lonely mountainside waiting to receive his song; this song was the gift of the gods, naming the lad and defining his character and way of life. He as a person did not create the song. It was directed to him, so that he might serve more worthily as a member of his group.<sup>1</sup> Tribal singers who chant the great Indian ceremonies today believe that poems came in just the same way to earlier singers who afterward handed the poems down from generation to generation by word of mouth.

"It is the peculiarity of American Indian poetry that its full meaning is never expressed in the words it utters," writes Mary Austin, life-long student of Indian song and ceremony. "These are, in fact, only a sort of shorthand note to what the Indians themselves call the 'Inside Song.'"<sup>2</sup> Compression of meaning and clarity of image is the third fundamental of Indian art expression. The earliest imagist poetry in America was composed by Indians, not by twentieth century Americans. Some lines of Indian poetry are pure images phrased in sequence to suggested relationships of idea or feeling. Take, for illustration, the "Painting Black Song" as it is reproduced by Mary Roberts and Dane Coolidge.

### PAINTING BLACK SONG

Black ashes, black ashes, beautiful black ashes.

Heaven ashes.

Everlasting.

Black ashes, black ashes, beautiful black ashes.

Black ashes, black ashes, beautiful black ashes.

Earth ashes.

Everlasting.

Black ashes, black ashes, beautiful black ashes.<sup>3</sup>

1. Frank Linderman, *American* (1930), pp. 34-44.

2. Mary Austin, "Medicine Songs," *Everybody's Magazine*, XXI (1914), 413-415. Mrs. Austin has an excellent essay on Indian poetry in her Introduction to *The Path of the Rainbow* (1918), a collection of Indian poems edited by George W. Cronyn. Ruth M. Underhill, in her book *Singing for Power* (1938), stresses the community significance of Indian song as it calls upon the powers of nature.

3. Dane and Mary Coolidge, *The Navajo Indians* (1930), p. 179; see also, "Red Paint Song," p. 180.

The image stands alone here, repeated, until it suggests not another image, but a religious meaning in the healing ceremony to which the poem belongs. The remedies given to the patient are not enough. There must be curative singing to drive out evil spirits afflicting the body. The blackening with ashes keeps the ghosts from re-entering.

Not all the magic of imagery and sound is directed at ghosts or spirits, but at such natural forces as sun, wind, rain, clouds, and thunder. In what Ruth Underhill calls "Songs to Pull Down the Clouds," a series of Papago poems, every image in the sequence of songs is used to suggest rain, to concentrate the mind, desire, and will of the people upon rain. Imagery here is an "imitation of nature" in perhaps the deepest sense. Aristotle used the phrase in defining poetry. The Indian poet tries to produce a counterpart of nature in the human mind, by the use of words with their imagery, sounds with their onomatopoetic values, and movements of hand and body.

#### SONGS TO PULL DOWN THE CLOUDS<sup>4</sup>

The little red spiders  
And the little gray horned toad  
Together they make the rain to fall;  
They make the rain to fall.

Upon the Children's Land  
The waters run and overflow,  
Upon the stream-bed Mountain  
The waters run and overflow.

Corn is forming,  
Corn is forming.  
Beside it, squash is forming.  
In the yellow flowers  
The flies sing.

At the edge of the world  
It is growing light.  
The trees stand shining  
I like it.  
It is growing light.

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4. Ruth M. Underhill, *Singing for Power* (1938), pp. 26-27. Gladys Reichard in *The Compulsive Word* (1944) and Margot Astrov in *Introduction to The*

At the edge of the world  
 It is growing light.  
 Up rears the light.  
 Just yonder the day dawns  
 Spreading over the night.

Imagery and the association of imagery with thoughts and feelings is the pure substance of all good poetry. In the Navajo healing rites, sand paintings are made which reproduce the symbols of gods and natural forces. Then the poetry of prayer for peace and beauty is chanted

I have made your sacrifice . . .  
 Restore all for me in beauty,  
 Make beautiful all that is before me.  
 Make beautiful all that is behind me.  
 Make beautiful my words.  
 It is done in beauty.  
 It is done in beauty.  
 It is done in beauty.  
 It is done in beauty.<sup>5</sup>

Although the great bulk of Indian poetry is ceremonial, there are personal songs dealing with love, with death, with individual exploits. Even here, however, the Indian poems are more reserved and dignified than many modern European and American lyrics. One of the finest personal poems in Indian literature is called "Last Song."

Let it be beautiful when I sing the last song.  
 Let it be day.  
 I would stand up on my two feet singing!  
 I would look upward with open eyes, singing!  
 I would have the wind to envelop my body,  
 The whole world would I have to make music with me,  
 Let it be beautiful when Thou  
 Wouldst slay me, O shining one!  
 Let it be day when I sing my last song.<sup>6</sup>

5. Washington Matthews, "Mountain Chant," *Bureau of American Ethnology*, V (1883-1884), 456-476. See also "The Mountain Chant of the Navajo," in G. W. Cronyn, *The Path of the Rainbow*, pp. 82-83.

6. From the pueblo of Zuñi.

*Winged Serpent* (1946) stress the Indian faith in reiterated words to produce power. "Whenever the Indian ponders over the mystery of origin, he shows a tendency to ascribe to the word a creative power all its own. The word is conceived of as an independent entity, superior even to the gods." (Astrov.)



As a fourth element, we must understand the structure of Indian poetry. It is a kind of free verse disciplined by the drum beat and certain devices of phrasing and chanting. There is no recognized foot measure, like the English iamb, trochee, anapest, or dactyl. Indian poets recite their verse with a steady *beat, beat, beat, beat, beat, beat, beat*, against which the sung line flows with recognizable pauses, governed by words in breath groups, by thought units, by the Indian language formations called holophrases or long compounds like "hither-whiteness-comes-walking" for "dawn," or "the-two-top-feathers-of-an-eagle's-wings." There are no rhymes in Indian verse. The lines are of different length though they are repeated in parallel form in many passages. The structure of Indian verse resembles that of the Hebrew Psalms with their freely rhythmized cadences, the repetitions of phrase, the loose stanzaic groupings.

Impressive feats of memory are performed by the Indian poets who sing the long ceremonies on festival days. Fine examples of ceremonial song are the "Creation Myth" of Zuñi pueblo<sup>7</sup> or the "Story of the Coming of the Navajo."<sup>8</sup> In them one follows the mind's singing as the Zuñi people of the Middle Place emerge with the shaping of the earth through darkness, water, mud, into a world of wings and breathing—to Awonawilona, the breath of the light of day. Here is the dignity and symbolism of a world pilgrimage. Navajos sing of a great flood at the time they came from the Underworld into the present Earth, where they climbed by means of a hollow reed. There are myths for the creation of light and darkness, of human and animal life, of seeds for earth, of good and evil influences in life and the mixture of the two in the animal Coyote, who is the Loki of the Indian world, a prankster combining fun with wisdom. Songs of the Spider Woman, sky weaver who brought the loom to mankind, of the rainbow trail of the deities, of Fire God who made the stars, Songs of

7. Matilda Coxé Stevenson, "Zuñi Creation Myth," *Bureau of American Ethnology, Twenty-third Annual Report* (1901-1902), pp. 73ff.

8. Dane and Mary Coolidge, *The Navajo Indians* (1930), pp. 121-131; Washington Matthews, "Story of the Emergence," *Navaho Legends* (1897), pp. 63-179; William Whitman, *Navaho Tales* (1925), pp. 3-28; Franciscan Fathers, *An Ethnologic Dictionary of the Navaho Language* (1910), pp. 346-361; Dorothy Hogner, *Navaho Winter Nights* (1935), pp. 3-23; Hasteen Klah and Mary Wheelwright, *Navajo Creation Myth* (1942), pp. 9-125.

Blessing—hundreds of long and short songs make up the Navajo world of myth and medicine. Superstition and witchery are the motives for some, but many more are for healing or for the celebration of household events from the birth of a child to “lucky songs” for prosperity and well-being.

This brief introduction to Indian poetry may well conclude with a Tewa song which holds the living reality for Indians of the god-world. It is a hunting song translated by H. J. Spinden. In it the phrase “Road of Magic” connotes the Road of Life which runs before birth and beyond death. Along it pass the souls of the unborn, the ghosts of the dead, and the gods themselves.

#### THE ROAD OF MAGIC

Yonder on White Mountain Plain  
It was good in the long ago!  
San Juan girls and San Juan boys,  
Together they used to walk  
Where lies the Road of Magic.

Yonder on Cactus Stalk Plain  
It was good in the long ago!  
Together we used to walk,  
San Juan girls and San Juan boys,  
Where lies the Road of Magic.

Here on Medicine Hill Plain  
Again we talk together!  
San Juan girls and San Juan boys,  
Again we walk together  
Where lies the Road of Magic.<sup>9</sup>

#### INDIAN PROSE

Indian stories in prose may be classified as myths, legends, and folktales. The myths recount the deeds of gods and founders, the divine or semi-divine ancients who founded religion or explained natural phenomena. The legends describe the exploits of historic or typical individuals who shaped tribal destiny by notable exploits in contact with either supernatural or natural figures. The folktales treat of the familiar and humorous everyday world frequently exploiting animal lore as a satire on wit and cunning wherever they are found.

9. Herbert Joseph Spinden, *Songs of the Tewa* (1933), p. 72.

Many of the figures in ceremonial poetry appear in the prose accounts of myth and legend. Anecdotes remove Old Man Coyote from his role in the Creation Myth to the prankster in folktales. The Isleta Indians tell a story in prose about a man who married the Moon, a Pueblo Endymion, opposed by evil forces whom he at last overcomes with the help of Moonmaiden.<sup>10</sup> The supernatural characters in this story are borrowed from the ceremonial chants, but the transition is easily made from the medium of poetry to that of prose. The circumstances of telling are different and the tone of the story teller.

Indian story-telling was a household art, for the Indian family circle boasted no library shelf with the children's set of "Journeys Through Bookland." Pueblo young ones gathered with their elders to hear stories told before the adobe fireplace in the winter months as Navajos gathered around fires in their hogans and Plains Indians in their tipis.<sup>11</sup> Tales were told in the kivas and medicine hogans, and in general they are brief, for frequently there were series of stories told by more than one teller. With smoking, the tales sometimes went the length of rolling, lighting, and finishing a single ceremonial cigarette.<sup>12</sup> Indian folktales have the artistic qualities of concrete phrasing, universal wisdom, and brevity.

Frank Cushing's tale of how the twin gods, Áhaiyúta and Mátsailéma, stole the thunderstone and the lightning shaft of the gods and by the death of their grandmother brought the chili plant to mankind is an example of the myth type of prose narrative.<sup>13</sup> So, too, are the feats of the Slayer, the war-god of the Navajos, chief of which was the destruction of Yeitso, enemy of the Sun and greatest of all evil gods, who loved the Turquoise Goddess, mother of the Slayer. Tales descriptive of the Navajo fourth world, or of the Pueblo world-wombs, are in this oldest group. Frances Gillmor in *Traders to the Navajo* (1934) includes transcriptions of very early legends among the

10. Charles F. Lummis has the story of "The Man Who Married the Moon" in his *Pueblo Indian Folk-Stories* (1910), pp. 53-70. This is an excellent collection of folktales.

11. Charles Lummis gives a pleasant picture of Indian story telling in his introduction to *Pueblo Indian Folk-Stories* (1910), pp. 6-11; originally issued as *The Man Who Married the Moon* (1894).

12. See Introduction to Mary Austin's *One Smoke Stories* (1934), pp. xi-xiv.

13. Frank Cushing, *Zuñi Folk Tales* (1931), pp. 175-184.

Diné, as the Navajos call themselves. Dorothy Hogner's "Tales of Big Long Man" also illustrate the legend form. Big Long Man, or First Man, as he is called elsewhere, fights with giants, but he also has a very human experience with his wife when he neglects his corn patch to go hunting. Anecdotes such as Walter Prescott Webb's "The Singing Snakes of Karan-kawas" belong in the group of legendary tribal accounts, as does the story of "The Giant Killer Twins" reported by Elizabeth Willis DeHuff in "Pueblo Versions of Old World Tales." This legend is a highly serious version of two Jack the Giant-Killers, who overcome the giant Tsah-ve-yoh living upon the summit of Black Mesa and after they have replaced his witch heart with a good one, bring him back to life and make of him a good giant who visits the pueblos each Christmas rewarding the obedient children and punishing the bad.<sup>14</sup>

The mischief and cleverness of Coyote are the substance of many folktales exemplary of the third type of prose narratives. He is the central figure in a cycle of folktales some of which are humorous and others profoundly wise. Lillian Elizabeth Barclay in "The Coyote: Animal and Folk-Character" has discussed Old Man Coyote in his various roles as pest and benefactor, Great Spirit or World Creator, and just creature of wit and learning. She draws upon folktales about coyote found among the Indians from Canada to Mexico and recorded by such writers as Mary Austin, J. Frank Dobie, Ernest Thompson Seton, Enos Mills, and Charles F. Lummis. "Coyote and the Rock Lizards" in Dorothy Hogner's *Navajo Winter Nights* is typical animal lore.<sup>15</sup> Coyote appears in a number of stories which have parallels in other languages. The story of The Pine Gum Baby found in both Pueblo and Navajo lore is very like the Tar Baby story in Joel Chandler Harris, if we change Coyote for Br'er Rabbit; and the Coyote and the Turtle story found among the Hopis is analogous to the Briar Patch episode in *Uncle Remus*, too. The trick by which Coyote gets Fox to jump into a pool after what appears to

14. For Mr. Webb's tale see *Southwest Review*, XXII (July, 1937), pp. 325-337; for Mrs. DeHuff's, see "Coyote Wisdom," *Publications of the Texas Folk-Lore Society*, XIV (1938), pp. 104-126; for Mrs. Hogner's see *Navajo Winter Nights* (1935).

15. Lillian Barclay's article is in "Coyote Wisdom," *Publications of the Texas Folk-Lore Society*, XIV (1938), pp. 36-103; Dorothy Hogner's tales are also available in *The New Mexico Quarterly*, IV (1934), pp. 83-86.

be half of a round cheese is not unlike the famous European tale of the Fox and the Wolf, with the variant that it is sheep and other viands that the Wolf has in mind, and buckets in wells were not known to Indians.<sup>16</sup> Among the most interesting parallels found between Indian story lore and European is the Cinderella story told in terms of the little Turkey Girl treated unkindly by her sisters, Yellow Corn and Blue Corn.<sup>17</sup>

The analogy of the Celtic gift to English literature comes to mind when one thinks of American aboriginal tradition. It took six centuries for Arthur and his Celtic world to find their way first into English poetry and then into English prose. We have begun much sooner to realize the glories of our American literary inheritance.<sup>18</sup> Mary Austin in her poem "Western Magic"<sup>19</sup> writes of the Spider Woman mending "with thin-drawn cloud, torn edges of the sky"; of the Hunchback god, the fluteplayer, who plays "in deep rock crevices where springs are found"; of the Rainbow Boy who dances with the "many-footed rains." She concludes:

There are no fairy-folk in our Southwest,  
But there are hours when prairie dog and snake  
Black beetle and the tecolote owl  
Between two winks their ancient forms will take.

Clad in white skins with shell shield glittering,  
The Sun—their chief—the ancient road will walk,  
And half in her sleep the mothering earth  
Of older things than fairy-folk will talk.

The Indian world is a simpler and, if anything, more profound world than the European. "I always remember what the old men told me: that the world is God," said an old Indian.<sup>20</sup>

16. Elizabeth Willis DeHuff, *Tay Tay's Tales* (1922), "The Coyote and the Turtle," pp. 18-29; "The Coyote and the Fox," pp. 3-7.

17. DeHuff, *op. cit.*, "A Little Cinderella," (Picuris Pueblo), pp. 186-190; and "The Turkey Girl," *Pueblo Versions of Old World Tales*, Publications of the Texas Folk-Lore Society, XIV (1938), pp. 104-126. Frank Hamilton Cushing has the story from Zuñi, with the variant that it is not the sisters who cause the little Cinderella's distress, but her own forgetfulness of the turkeys who have befriended her, *Zuñi Folk Tales* (1931), pp. 54-64.

18. T. M. Pearce, "American Traditions and Our Histories of Literature," *American Literature*, XIV (November, 1942) 277-284.

19. Mary Austin, *The Children Sing in the Far West* (1928), pp. 55-56.

20. Mary Austin, "Non-English Writings, Aboriginal," *Cambridge History of American Literature*, IV (1921, 1923), 614.

When someone criticized the Indians for spending too much of their time in dancing and ceremony, a young Jemez lad answered, "Indian spend as much time in other world as this." The Indian believes in immortality for animal as well as human life. Men are part of the world creation, not the final achievement or lords of it. The world is made up of entities—men, plants, lands, waters, rocks—that have souls which interact upon one another through individual powers. The Indian thought is always to produce harmony among these powers. What higher end can literature work to achieve?

Although Indian poetry and prose represent a world of symbol and experience more elemental than our own, there is universality and beauty in them to nourish and vitalize modern conceptions which have in complex societies grown too far from the roots of peace and understanding.

## II

### NARRATIVES OF THE SPANISH EXPLORERS AND COLONIZERS

We turn now from the beginnings of Southwestern literature in the myth world of the Turquoise Man and the folktales of Coyote to a world of literary values which spring from the soul of another race, whose mysticism, courage, and materialism are born of the traditions of Europe and not of America. Where pictographs and the memories of tribal singers had briefed the chronicles of Indian movements, the first Europeans in the Southwest left their *relaciones*<sup>1</sup> on a thin, flat sheet which is white like the Indian wafer bread and as thin, but tougher and quite indigestible. One can read the lines and in between the lines to relive the experiences of Cabeza de Vaca and his companions as they made their way in the years between 1528 and 1536 from the Florida coast to Northern Mexico. These first Europeans to traverse territory now in the United States built boats and launched them in the Gulf, only to be shipwrecked in Galveston Bay and forced back upon an overland route which probably led through southern New Mexico. There were only four of them, Cabeza de Vaca, two other Spaniards—Andrés Dorantes and Alonso del Castillo—and a Negro named Esteban who was a serving man to Captain Dorantes. If the Indians had chosen to destroy these four, reports of the land embellished by fanciful tales of wealth in gold and jewels would never have reached Mexico. On the contrary, the Indians were hospitable to them, offering food, clothing, and shelter and winning a response from Cabeza de Vaca, at least, which was warm and grateful. He recounts how the Christian prayers of Castillo, Dorantes, and himself seemed to perform miracles of healing among the natives. From shared hardships, sickness, and want, the barriers between Indian and European were broken down until on one occasion Cabeza de Vaca remarked to Andrés, "If we reach Spain I shall petition His Majesty to return me to this land,

1. Reports, narratives, memoirs.

with a troop of soldiers. And I shall teach the world how to conquer by gentleness, not by slaughter."

"Why then a troop of soldiers?" asked Dorantes, smiling. "Soldiers look for Indian girls and gold."

"Perhaps I could teach them otherwise," Cabeza de Vaca replied.

"They would kill you, or tie you to a tree and leave you. What a dunce you are, Alvar Nuñez!"<sup>2</sup>

Yet the Spaniards travel on, unfettered and unmolested by their Indian companions until they encounter their Spanish countrymen mounted on horses and in search of Indian slaves. Cabeza de Vaca is astonished to find how different his attitude toward Indians is from the attitude of the Spanish who have never lived among them on equal terms. "Who are the true Christians?" he asked of the King, "Spanish wayfarers living in harmony and helpfulness with the natives of the land, or the *caballeros* in armor and pride, driving herds of men, women, and children before them into slavery?" The *Narrative* of Cabeza de Vaca presents as clear a picture of basic motives in human behavior under primitive conditions as any account in early American history.

Later chronicles deal with larger groups of explorers and colonizers. Don Francisco Vázquez de Coronado led an expedition of three hundred soldiers, a group of friars, and three hundred Mexican Indians into Arizona and New Mexico in 1540, and his forces in whole or in part remained in the region the space of two years, exploring as far west as the Grand Canyon and as far east as western Kansas. The chronicler of this expedition, Pedro de Castañeda, has left a graphic account of the *entrada* into New Mexico, the discovery of the Rio Grande River, and the Grand Canyon, the democratic political organization of the Indian tribes and cities throughout Cíbola (the earliest name for the northern Indian country adjacent to the Rio Grande), the agriculture, social organization, religion, and handicrafts of the peoples. Coronado withdrew when Cíbola did not yield wealth in precious stones and metals, but so impressed was his chronicler Castañeda by the

2. Taken from Haniel Long's *Interlinear to Cabeza de Vaca* (1936); the original text in translation may be found in *Spanish Explorers in the Southwestern United States, 1528-1543*. "The Narrative of Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca" (1925). Edited by F. W. Hodge and T. H. Lewis.



promise in the land for colonization that he comments: "For although they did not obtain the riches of which they had been told, they found the means to discover them and the beginning of a good land to settle in and from which to proceed onward. . . . I say this because I believe that some of those who came from there would today be glad if they could go back and try to recover what they had lost."<sup>3</sup>

The Spanish *relaciones* or chronicles have nothing of the Indian philosophy of nature with its dancing to the harvest gods or singing to the nature forces of rain and sun. Like other chronicles of the sixteenth century, in English or French, they appraise the land and its peoples and present an inventory of the wealth in minerals, agriculture, and humankind. But there is a lot of first hand reporting of interesting personal experiences, of heroism, cunning, and deception on the part of both natives and Europeans. Castañeda's account of the Indian called "The Turk" who led Coronado probably three or four hundred miles into the hot, arid plains on a fruitless adventure just to have his revenge upon the Spanish is a classic among early American records.

It is not generally known that the historian of the colonization of New Mexico was a poet, Gaspar Pérez de Villagrà, graduate in letters from the University of Salamanca, Spain, and a true Renaissance gentleman in the combination of arms, courtesy, and letters. Villagrà, like all Renaissance writers, in his *History of New Mexico* (1610)<sup>4</sup> exhibits his knowledge of classic writers by overmuch reference to their works and imitation of their poetic practices, but he does sing of "arms and of the deeds of that heroic son," Don Juan de Oñate, who in 1598, after opposition on the part of the king and viceroy, finally led five hundred men (one hundred and thirty of them with families) from Taxco, Mexico, to San Juan on the Rio Grande River thirty miles north of Santa Fe, the present capital of New Mexico. It was not until twelve years later, in 1610, that the Spanish under Peralta, Oñate's successor, moved to the new location at Santa Fe. Villagrà is a source for information on much that has made the Southwest a distinctive

3. *Narratives of the Coronado Expedition, 1540-1542*. Translated and edited by G. P. Hammond and Agapito Rey (1940), p. 194.

4. Gaspar Pérez de Villagrà, *History of New Mexico* (1610). Translated by Gilberto Espinosa (1933), with Introduction and Notes by F. W. Hodge.

region in the culture of the United States. He tells of the first observance of Holy Week (with the scourging still observed by the Penitente Brotherhood), of the staging of the first dramatic performances in this country, such as the impromptu drama written by Captain Farfán describing the conversion of the Indians<sup>5</sup> or the drama on horseback called "The Moors and The Christians,"<sup>6</sup> of the character and customs of the people ("They are quiet, peaceful people of good appearance and excellent physique, alert and intelligent. They are not known to drink, a good omen, indeed."),<sup>7</sup> of the siege of Acoma, a fortified citadel on a mesa three hundred and fifty feet high, which was taken by less than one hundred soldiers resisted by five or six times that number of defenders. In this assault, Villagr   himself participated, contributing to the success of the attack by a prodigious jump across a chasm to put in place a log which was to serve as a bridge for the other soldiers.<sup>8</sup> Villagr  's poetic chronicle must be accorded place as the first poem about America by anyone who had visited the territory and could give first hand observation of what he saw.

The missionary zeal of the Franciscan friars found its chroniclers, notably in the book by Alonso de Benavides, called *The Memorial* (1630). Friar Benavides writes of what he hopes for rather than what he sees, but his picture of the Indians at the useful tasks of carpentry, leather-working, music, and letters is the idyllic view of happy people everywhere. Father Benavides hoped for greatly increased financial aid from the Spanish crown in order to expand the mission work in the province of New Spain. When one recalls that his *Memorial* was written fourteen years after Thomas More published his *Utopia* and that only four years earlier Tommaso Campanella, another religious, had written a philosophical work describing an ideal country, *The City of the Sun*, Benavides' view may be pardoned if it occasionally idealized the state of American society at this early date.

It is clear from these chronicles that in the settlement of the Southwest the Conquistadors were not pinched by as much

5. Villagr  , *op. cit.*, p. 129; also p. 149.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 141.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 143.

8. It is not known just where "Villagr  's leap" was made, but the details are clear as to how it was accomplished; *History of New Mexico* (1610), p. 243.

want as the English in the first years at Plymouth; that they found more of civilization at hand on which to build; that life was enlivened by more gaiety than life in the colonial periods of either Virginia or New England. With the help of Indian labor, great mission churches went up in the Indian villages where the friars as architects directed and trained workers who built some of the most impressive monuments on the American continent. There were few if any buildings along the eastern seaboard in the seventeenth century which in size or beauty could equal the great church and monastery at Gran Quivira in New Mexico or the massive structure at Acoma. Centers of culture, the intermingling of Indian and Spanish elements, dotted New Mexico in the seventeenth century. After the Pueblo Rebellion in 1680, Spanish and Indian life never again had the same standing. With the reconquest, priests returned to the Pueblos but the Pueblans remained Indian. Spanish culture drew apart. The two traditions remained separate.

It is important for Americans to know what the colonial way of life was like in the Southwest where the life of the Indian was well integrated and where a culture stemming from ancient Mediterranean traditions was to clash and merge in the nineteenth century with the Anglo-Saxon stream moving from the east and south. The average New Englander, steeped in English traditions, knows little about the colonial period in the Southwest, never dreaming that it parallels his own history with interesting events and characters. The average Southwesterner has a vague idea, hinged to a few isolated dates, that the Southwest was settled a century before any other part of the United States and can rest complacently upon the antiquity of its institutions. A careful study will show that Portuguese John Cabot's voyage, under the patronage of English Henry VII, followed by only five years the voyage of Italian Columbus, under the patronage of Spanish Ferdinand II, and that the English left more permanent settlements in Nova Scotia in 1563 than Coronado established in New Mexico in 1540. The French were in Canada in 1534 and in South Carolina, Georgia and Florida in the 1560's but not to stay. Raleigh's unsuccessful colonial ventures in Virginia between 1584 and 1589 parallel the efforts of Chamuscado and Espejo in New Mexico during approximately the same period. Oñate's colony

at San Juan anticipated John Carver's colony at Plymouth by twenty-two years. So the story goes. Discoveries, explorations, settlement are never more than a few years apart in the Southwest and along the Atlantic seaboard; the Englishman is always on the heels of the Frenchman or the Spaniard. But the Englishman is English and the Spaniard Spanish, and therein lies the interest for the historian of culture. Dates can never reveal how close or how far apart peoples may be who bear the features of two different nations.

In art, in social, educational, and religious attitudes, the colonial traditions with the chronicles that bear witness to them are exceedingly important for contemporary thought. "This has always been a people of government and a republic," Fray Benavides remarks of the Indian civilization as he observed it in 1625, "the old men coming together with the chief captain to confer and judge the things that were suitable. And when these had been determined, the *capitán mayor* went forth in person proclaiming through the pueblo that which was ordered. And this is, even today, an action of great authority, this proclaiming by the chief captain what has to be done in the pueblo." Spanish authority, however, did not manifest itself through democratic machinery. The Governors of the northern province of Mexico maintained such royal splendor at Santa Fe as was possible for a town on the edge of civilization, but the *villa real*, nevertheless, of a kingdom larger than Europe.

The Southwestern colonizers were not so bookish a people as the New Englanders. There was no printing press in New Mexico until the mid-nineteenth century, two hundred years after Stephen Day had set up his establishment for publication in Boston. Doctrinal discourses and manuals of devotion came for the clergy from Spain and Mexico where there were presses. The wills of Spanish colonists are not replete with such bequests of books as the wills of the Massachusetts Bay colonists or the settlers at Plymouth.<sup>9</sup> But books such as the plays of Lope de Vega or the romances of Cervantes were read, by some of the colonists at least.<sup>10</sup> More active was the folk tradition

9. Thomas Goddard Wright, *Literary Culture in Early New England, 1620-1730* (1920).

10. Eleanor B. Adams, "Books in New Mexico, 1598-1680," *New Mexico Historical Review* XVII (July, 1942), pp. 226-270; also Eleanor B. Adams, "Two Colonial New Mexico Libraries," *New Mexico Historical Review*, XIX (April, 1944), pp. 135-167.

of story telling and ballad singing. The historical *relaciones*, as we have seen, were vivid and rich in both documentary and literary details. It is the chronicles which keep alive the deeds of the two most important groups in the colony, the church and the state.

The Gentleman of Elvas reports a John Smith and Pocahontas episode in the heroic story of De Soto in Spanish America.<sup>11</sup> The secret burial of the Adelantado in the great river he had discovered is among the tragic annals of American history. Don Diego de Peñalosa, Governor of New Mexico (1661-1664) incurred the wrath of the Inquisition by permitting the Indians to worship with their pagan ceremonials. His tolerance, however, did not save either priests or laity from the Pueblo Rebellion in 1680, led by Popé.<sup>12</sup> The Pueblo Rebellion is magnificent material for a drama or novel that can realize the clash of powerful pagan forces fighting to reclaim a continent from the will and mastery of an alien culture. Peñalosa, champion of the Indians was later imprisoned in Mexico, deprived of rank and possessions, and so humiliated that upon his return to Europe he volunteered to serve England and France against his native Spain. The Alarcón expedition into Texas, with the romantic figure of the Frenchman St. Denis, captured by love of the Spanish captain's granddaughter, is the human side of history instead of the factual. The chronicles of Arizona yield Padre Kino,<sup>13</sup> among the greatest of the missionary figures, whose adventures for the cross are as hardy as those of any of the crusaders for the sword or money chest.

So for the seeds of drama, of narrative, of history, even of poetry, and of the transitional culture pattern, these old Spanish chronicles are precious.

11. *Spanish Explorers in the Southern United States, 1528-1543* (1907), "Narrative of the Expedition of Hernando de Soto," p. 151.

12. See Eugene Manlove Rhodes, *Peñalosa* (1917, 1934).

13. Herbert E. Bolton, *The Rim of Christendom* (1936).

### III

## SPANISH FOLK DRAMAS, SONGS, AND TALES

### FOLK DRAMAS

How we would like to have the comedies of Captain Farfán, mentioned by Villagrà, or a record of all the Moorish and Christian games with which the *caballeros* entertained themselves at San Juan in the season when the fields were springing green with the planting of Indian corn and the drums sounding in the pueblos for the summer rain dances. We do have a very old play called *Los Moros y los Cristianos* which is largely a matter of action on horseback and of text little more than the speeches addressed by the captains of the opposing sides.<sup>1</sup> Yet who can tell when from these sources a drama will spring like the drama which grew from Shakespeare's Holinshed and the other chroniclers in the time of Queen Elizabeth. The free materials from which theatre grows are everywhere present in the Southwest. The struggle of races and individuals is there. Since a soldier poet and a soldier dramatist were among the

1. The cast consists of six main characters with supporting soldiers in armies: there is the Christian general with two captains, Frederic and Eduardo; the powerful Sultan of the Moors with two captains, Moma and Selín. The setting is an open place large enough for movement of the armies, with an altar on one side and the Castle of the pagans on the other (the Sultan is called the Turk in one place, Captain of the Moors in another). After an opening military procession in which the captains place the Cross on the altar, the Turk speaks to his men in the Castle, exhorting them to attack the Christians. Moma, a Moorish captain, offers to get the Christian sentinel drunk and steal the Cross. Eduardo, the Christian captain, falls with his head in the wine-bag, and Moma carries the Cross to the castle. Don Alfonso, leader of the Christians, gathers his men to attack. There are three skirmishes and the Christians fall back. Apparently the action of the play was then carried over until the next day, with players on both sides remaining more or less on the scene of the battle. The next day the Sultan offers to accept a bribe from the Christians but Don Alfonso refuses to recover the Cross in any way but by battle. In three skirmishes this day the Moors are defeated and the Cross recovered. Don Alfonso pardons his enemies and there is music and singing in praise of God. (A manuscript of *Los Moros y Los Cristianos* is to be found in Spanish in the Mary Austin Collection, Laboratory of Anthropology, Santa Fe, and mimeographed in translation by Aurora Lucero White, State Department of Education, Santa Fe, N. M. An interesting pictorial representation was done in 1936 by Dorothy Stewart as a mural for the portal of the Albuquerque Little Theatre. For a copy of text see *Los Moros y Los Cristianos: Early American Play*, by T. M. Pearce in the *New Mexico Folklore Record*, Volume II, University of New Mexico Press, June, 1948.

first settlers, we should look for poetry and drama in an ever richer stream as the opportunity for expression grows.

As in the European drama, there is a background in the Southwest of religious plays. Riva Palacio describes the early religious theatre:

Theatrical performances began in Mexico shortly after the arrival of the Conquerors. The subjects represented were usually scriptural, or concerning the wars of the Christians and the Moors, in which explication of Christian doctrine occupied an important place. In all religious and political celebrations care was taken to include some sacred comedy or Corpus Christi Play, which was usually performed in the open air, so that all might attend. In the famous festival of Corpus Christi at Tlaxcala, in 1538, an elaborate *auto* was given, the subject being the sin of Adam and Eve. This *auto* was performed by native converts, for whom it had been translated into their own language.<sup>2</sup>

The *auto* and the *coloquio*, which seem to correspond to the English morality play and interlude, though the terms are not clearly distinguished, were the first sources of dramatic representation among Europeans in the New World. *Auto sacramental*, as it is represented by the *Adán y Eva* in Mexico in 1538<sup>3</sup> or in New Mexico later,<sup>4</sup> is a typical miracle play of the French-English type. *Auto* as it is applied to the *Conversion of the Four Kings of Tlaxcala*, which Dr. Castañeda calls the first American play,<sup>5</sup> fits the more secular type of morality production in England, a development from the miracle cycles. The contest between representatives of good and evil, with attendant abstractions personifying the Deadly Sins and the Angelic Virtues is the stock plot in this type of *auto*, with varying degrees of realism and action in portrayal. *Los Moros y Los Cristianos*, *Conversion of the Four Kings of Tlaxcala*, the

2. *México á través de los Siglos*, quoted in M. R. Cole, *Pastores, A Mexican Play of the Nativity* (1907), Introduction, xi.

3. See the description from Toribio de Motilinia in C. E. Castañeda's "The First American Play," *The Catholic World*, January, 1932. Reprinted by Texas Catholic Historical Society, Vol. III, No. 1, January, 1926.

4. A. L. Campa, "Religious Spanish Folk Drama in New Mexico," *New Mexico Quarterly*, II (February, 1932), pp. 4-8.

5. Dr. Castañeda objects to Charles P. Dailly's statement, in 1886, that the first play in North America occurred in 1718 in Williamsburg, and states that two hundred years beforehand *autos* and *coloquios* were being presented at Tlaxcala and elsewhere in Mexico. The comparison is not quite fair between a belated stage of the religious drama and the presentation of a formal play. One might say that two hundred years before the *autos*, the Shalakos were enacting a drama, in December at Zuñi, of sacred and ceremonial sort in honor of the winter solstice and the coming of the gods to bless the life of the tribe.

New Mexican *Los Comanches*<sup>6</sup> are each of this type of representation.

There are two versions of *Los Comanches* in New Mexico and Colorado. The play in its earliest form commemorated the defeat of Indians in 1774 by the Spanish up in Colorado; north of Taos, and like "The Moors and the Christians" was a mock battle staged between threats and heroic speeches. Later the popular play and dialogue came to be staged at Christmas and was adapted to the theme of Christmas eve. The Comanches attack a village and carry off the Christ Child. The Christians pursue the Indians, offering to trade a blanket for the Child. When the Indians hear the miraculous story of the Holy Child, they agree to return Him and they make offerings of blankets, bows, and arrows. In the neighborhood of Albuquerque, this Christmas *Comanches* is given independently.<sup>7</sup> In more rural localities, it is frequently added to a Christmas dialogue and ceremony called *Las Posadas* (The Inns).

The entire community takes part in the production of *Las Posadas*. In older days, the ceremony was acted on nine nights before Christmas. Each night the people would carry images of St. Joseph and The Virgin to various homes supposed to represent the Inns of Bethlehem. Bonfires or *luminarias* would light the roads and a voice of St. Joseph would ask "Who will give lodging to these pilgrims wearied from travelling the highways?" From within the houses there would come answers on eight nights, "There is no room here." On the eve of Christmas, however, the images are admitted and everyone kneels before a decorated altar where the figures are placed. Later in the evening, the Infant Jesus in his cradle is placed

6. A lengthy Spanish text of *The Moors and the Christians* is recorded by Frances Gillmor in *Spanish Texts of Three Dance Dramas from Mexican Villages*, University of Arizona Bulletin, Vol. XIII, No. 4, October 1, 1942. In a later publication, Miss Gillmor discusses dramatic elements in this play and another sword-play related to it: "The Dance Dramas of Mexican Villages," University of Arizona Bulletin, Vol. XIV, No. 2, April 1, 1943. An edition of *Los Comanches* was published by Aurelio M. Espinosa in 1907, University of New Mexico Bulletin, Language Series, Vol. I, No. 1. A translation of this by Gilbert Espinosa was published in *The New Mexico Quarterly*, I (May, 1931), pp. 133-146. The most recent text is that edited by A. L. Campa; see "Los Comanches, A New Mexican Folk Drama," University of New Mexico Bulletin, Language Series, Vol. VII, No. 1, April 1, 1942. Honora De Busk Smith describes the two forms of *Los Comanches*, in "Mexican Plazas Along the River of Souls," *Publications of the Texas Folk-Lore Society*, IX (1931), pp. 71-72.



beside his parents on the altar. Today *Las Posadas* is usually celebrated in nine successive visits to houses on Christmas eve.<sup>8</sup> Then a folk play of the type called *Pastorela* will follow, presented in a larger hall at the church, school, or community center.

Of the "miracle play" type of *auto* the *Pastorelas* are representative. "Los Pastores" in various versions is still presented in many Spanish communities in the Southwest, and has even been presented in English as a radio production. In 1893, Captain John G. Bourke induced one of the actors in a miracle play in San Antonio to put the play down on paper. This manuscript, after careful study, was published by M. R. Cole, and a second text from San Rafael, New Mexico, printed in the same book as a comparison.<sup>9</sup> The general plot of these *Pastores* plays tells of shepherds often named Rotín, Tubero, Tubal, and Tetuán who hear the angelic annunciation of the birth of Christ and decide to go to Bethlehem. They are joined by other shepherds, and there are dancing, singing, and exchange of personal remarks. One of the shepherds desires to carry the Christ Child off and play with him. His companion has to suppress him just before Lucifer enters to find out whether the Messiah has really come. Christ is defended by the angel Michael in several contests before Lucifer is overthrown. When the shepherds proceed to Bethlehem, an altar at the front of the hall, they circle the playing place a number of times during which a lazy shepherd named Bartolo has to be continually prodded to keep him from lying down and resting or going to sleep. In one version Bartolo remarks that the only thing he is violent in is eating. In the play the shepherds eat tomatoes and fritters (*buñuelos*). There is a character called the Hermit who aids the shepherds to reach Bethlehem. Whether or not the Hermit and Bartolo in *Los Pastores* draw any inspiration for their roles from the New World in the production of the Nativity play, the costumes, lines, and action reflect native folk elements. The paper flowers, tinsel, and

8. No extended discussion reproducing text and music of *Las Posadas* is available. Ruth Laughlin Barber describes the festival in *Caballeros* (1931, 1945), p. 241; Honora DeBusk Smith in *Publications* of the Texas Folk-Lore Society, IX (1931), pp. 76-77; Vicente T. Mendoza in a two volume unpublished manuscript, entitled *The Folk Music of New Mexico*, now in the library of the University of New Mexico, gives both text and music.

9. M. R. Cole, *Los Pastores, A Mexican Play of the Nativity* (1907).

the ribbons in costume and stage decoration come from the local property box.<sup>10</sup> Bartolo is a rival to Mak, the amusing shepherd who steals a sheep in the Towneley "Second Shepherds' Play," and the acting of both Bartolo and of Satan requires genuine talent.

Why did the native tradition fail to develop in the Southwest? It is sometimes said because of the invasion of the eastern Americans who did not appreciate at first the values of folk culture. Though Spanish life did suffer from the first impact of strangers who were on the edge of an industrial society, still there had been ample time for the dramas to flower in the Southwest under the old culture if the encouragement had been there. It was not. Two things, which occurred in England did not occur here: first, the drama became entirely divorced from the educational direction of the church and, second, the stage learned about the formal and cultural elements in the drama of antiquity. The English theatre thus came of age. It played to an audience that wanted plays for the sake of entertainment, and it learned how the playwrights of Greece and Rome entertained audiences in their day. In the Southwest, the religious plays remained in a state of arrested development, interesting in their acting and staging conventions but unresourceful in their texts, and still primitive and naïve.

10. Printed versions of the folk plays are presented by M. R. Cole, *Los Pastores*, *Memoirs of the American Folklore Society*, IX (1907); Mary Van Stone, "El Niño Perdido," *Publications of the Texas Folk-Lore Society*, XI (1933), pp. 48-89; A. L. Campa, "Spanish Religious Folk Theatre in the Southwest," *University of New Mexico Bulletin*, Language Series, V (February 15, June 15, 1934). Aurora Lucero White has published a *Pastorela* in mimeograph, *Estrella*, State Department of Education, Santa Fe, N. M. A typed play, *Coloquio de Los Pastores*, copied from the ms. of Prospero S. Baca, Bernalillo, New Mexico, is in the library of the University of New Mexico. A manuscript in the possession of Felipe A. Chavez, of Albuquerque, has been used for a number of performances in the Albuquerque High School since 1929. This text, in both Spanish and English, is available in the unpublished thesis of Fred Meza Brewer, University of New Mexico Library, August, 1948. Critical comment on plays is also found in A. L. Campa, "Religious Spanish Folk-Drama in New Mexico," *New Mexico Quarterly*, II (1932), pp. 3-13; J. E. Engalkirk, "Notes on the Repertoire of the New Mexican Spanish Folktheater," *Southern Folklore Quarterly*, V (1941), pp. 127-131; Sister Joseph Marie, *The Role of the Church and the Folk in the Development of the Early Drama in New Mexico* (Philadelphia, 1918).

## FOLK SONGS

No people in Europe preserve a greater tradition of folk music than the people of Spain. In somewhat the same degree, the Spanish peoples in the Western hemisphere have kept alive the traditional music inherited from Spain and perhaps to a greater degree created a new and lively *cancionero*, "treasury of song," in Mexico, Cuba, Argentina, Brazil, and other Latin American countries. The traditional materials live on in the American Southwest, where in such early cultural centers as the Santa Cruz Valley north of Santa Fe or the old mission quarter of San Antonio, Spanish *romances* and *décimas*, both types of old ballads, live on. Here and elsewhere in Texas, Arizona, and New Mexico, *corridos*, a later narrative form, are being written from week to week as events occur which inspire them.

Many of the *romances* illustrate old courtly themes, like that of *Gerineldo*, which treats of the love of a court attendant for a king's daughter. The father discovers them embraced, and he places a sword between them. Having tested their fidelity, he allows them to wed.<sup>11</sup> Other *romances* are light and joking, such as "The City of Jauja," a ballad about a sixteenth century dream-world where the hills are of cake, the rocks of candy, and for all the idlers it is quite a place because anyone who wants to work is punished. Among other assets of Jauja is a tortilla tree.<sup>12</sup> A romance very generally known through the Southwest and sung by children is called "The Wedding" or *La Boda*. It tells of the marriage plans of a louse and a nit, and of the help the other animals gave them: the cow offers to give bread, the calf promises money, the spider promises dishes to eat, and the cricket offers wedding bells. Everyone is helpful, even the mouse who agrees to be best man if they will tie up the cats. This marriage is celebrated and the guests are enjoying the wedding banquet when the cats break loose

11. See annotations to individual *romances* and bibliography of collections by Menéndez Pelayo, Agustín Durán, Aurelio Espinosa, Menéndez Pidal, Vicente T. Mendoza and others listed in A. L. Campa, *Spanish Folk Poetry in New Mexico* (1946).

12. This ballad is sung by Prospero S. Baca of Bernalillo, New Mexico. It appears in his manuscript collection, and is reprinted by A. L. Campa, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

and end the ceremony by devouring the best man.<sup>13</sup> Such a ballad as *La Boda* is a parallel to *The Frog's Courtship* as given by Carl Sandburg in his *American Songbag* (1927).

The old ballads or *romances* have been modified in the Southwest. The long sixteen syllable line has been divided into octosyllables. These are grouped in quatrains for the popular form called *corrido*. In the *décima*, however, they are grouped in four ten line stanzas, which are preceded by a quatrain giving lines repeated in the stanzas. The *décima* is popular for philosophic, political, or religious subjects. A well known *décima*, sung in Mexico and New Mexico, is called *Rico y Pobre* (The Rich and the Poor). Its content is just what might be surmised:

El rico en palacio vive  
y el pobre in los campos crece,  
y en medio de las ciudades  
Siempre el pobre desmerece.

The rich live in palaces  
And the poor grow up in the country,  
And in the heart of the city  
The poor always get a raw deal.

The song goes on to contrast the lot of the poor lad from birth, through school, in courtship, and in business. An original *décima* by Prospero S. Baca of Bernalillo, New Mexico, is addressed to the members of the Republican Party in a neighboring county, urging them to unite to defeat the Democrats who have just won an election.

The *décima* and the *corrido* are a good deal alike in theme, but the *décima*, on the whole, is more serious and formal in its intentions. The *corrido* is the true ballad expression of Spanish speaking people in the Southwest. *Corridos* treat of accidents, disasters of fire or flood, murders and other crimes which in the currents of community life have resulted in emotional stresses. The Spanish *corridos* rival such American ballads as Missouri's "Jesse James," Texas' "Sam Bass," or New Mexico's "Little Joe the Wrangler." About twenty years ago a young Mexican was sentenced to death at Tombstone,

13. *La Boda* appears in A. Espinosa, "Spanish Folklore in New Mexico," *New Mexico Historical Review* I (1926), p. 154, and in A. L. Campa, *op. cit.*, p. 83.

Arizona, for a crime he had not committed. The *corrido* of "Guillermo Daniel" tells how the youth confessed to protect a friend, how he escaped shortly before his day of execution, and how he is now at large enjoying his freedom from an unjust sentence. In 1920, there was a New Mexican *corrido* about the San Marcial flood.<sup>14</sup> In 1936 a *corrido* was written and sung about the trial of the Gallup coal miners who, during a strike, had exchanged shots with the sheriff and his men, causing loss of life. When Senator Bronson Cutting was appointed to the United States Senate, one of his humble followers in Albuquerque addressed an imperfect *décima* to him praising Cutting's defense of the soldiers, and of the under-privileged people of the state. Then the folk-poet reminded him that all people have their dignity. "I see that you were born in the largest city in the United States and I in the smallest city which is the Ranchos de Tomé. I see that you are very rich. I very poor. You very smart and I very ignorant. But watch the papers, Senator Cutting; they are dying who have never died before, and so we will go to death, you and I. When they start crying and they put us on a Ford, they will take us to the cemetery, and from there we will come back no more." And the poem closed with:

Ud. se come sus coles  
Con su pan y mantequilla  
Y no me como mis frijoles  
Con un pedazo de tortilla.

You eat your cabbages  
With your bread and butter  
And I eat mine with beans  
And with a bit of tortilla.

A type of song composition practiced by Spanish popular singers and even more spontaneous than the writing of *corridos* is known as *hacer coplas*, "making coplas." These are quatrains improvised at a wedding, a fiesta, at any celebration where there is singing and an occasion to celebrate. *Coplas* in praise of the bride, in honor of the groom, out of respect for the families that are being united, in praise of a visiting guest

14. A. L. Campa, "Spanish Folksong in the Southwest," University of New Mexico *Bulletin*, Language Series, Vol. IV, No. 1 (November 15, 1933), p. 10.

—this is the practice of *coplas*, a musical custom still very much alive.<sup>15</sup> The old practice of *los trovos*, a singing contest between rival troubadours who improvise on rival themes, has not persisted in competition with the radio, juke box, and other types of music, both professional and mechanical.

Religious songs are widely sung, the *alabados* and *alabanzas*. The first are sacred hymns addressed to Jesus, the Blessed Sacrament, and to the Holy Family. Many of these are used by the fraternal order called *Los Hermanos de la Luz* (The Brothers of Light), better known as Penitentes. The second type are hymns addressed to the saints and in many cases are written by local *cantadores*. In Southwestern Catholic churches, where for generations the choir has been made up of village folk shut away from the development of music, traditional *alabados* are sung like the refrain heard in the Procession to the Cross of the Martyrs at Fiesta time in Santa Fe:

O María, Madre mía  
O Consuelo al mortal,  
Amparadme y guíadme  
A la patria celestial.

Despite the number of *romances*, *decimas*, *corridos*, *alabados* and *alabanzas*, by far the greatest wealth of popular Spanish Southwestern song lies in the *canciones*, the popular lyric balladry suited to the moods of the heart, though some spring from wit and fancy as well. In musical form the Southwestern *canciones* derive from the lyric traditions of Andalucía, Extremadura, Castilla and other provinces of Spain, where distinctive Visigothic, Moorish, Arabic, and Jewish musical forms were introduced in the Medieval and Renaissance centuries and were supplemented by the music of troubadours from France, Italy, and Portugal. It is this mixture of musical strains that gives the richness to Spanish lyric balladry. In the Americas, some melodic and rhythmic materials have been added by Indian and Negro musical traditions.<sup>16</sup>

15. Perhaps the most astonishing expression of the custom of improvising is that practiced by the Cuban *calypso* singers who compose immediately before any audience on any subject given them.

16. The *indita* is a type of song in which Spanish and Indian elements unite. It originated in Mexico where in early nineteenth century musical comedies (*tonedillas*) American elements were used to adapt the entertainment to New World audiences. See illustration in Campa, *Spanish Folk Poetry in New Mexico* (1946), p. 220.

The basic element in all Spanish songs may be traced to the simple pattern known as the *villancico* (rustic song, carol), which is essentially a stanza and a refrain.<sup>17</sup> The *villancico* in thirteenth century Spain was a simple three or four line stanza in octosyllables with a one line *estribillo* or refrain. The form was used by the common people in songs to the Virgin, songs of love, songs of proverbial wisdom. When the professional *trovadores* used the *villancico*, they shaped it with embellishments into madrigals, serenades, and other musical patterns with sophisticated literary texts. But the *villancico*, or rustic lyric song, is the basic pattern for such modern ballads as *Cielito Lindo* or *La Cucaracha*. "Cielito Lindo" is a love song by a woman who compares love to a dart in the air that wounds and to a child that is satisfied with very little when it is born but as it grows constantly demands more. The black eyes of her lover and a mark on his face both fascinate and anger her for

El hombre que te quiera,  
Cielito lindo  
Si no te miente  
Llorar te hará algun día  
Cielito lindo  
Seguramente.

If a man loves you truly,  
Cielito lindo,  
Does not deceive you  
To make you weep he will someday  
Cielito lindo  
Be succeeding.

"Cielito lindo" has been interpreted as a sweetheart, a mountain sprite, or just a beautiful day with a blue sky! The song is lilting in rhythm (*seguidilla* measure) and fanciful in text, and throughout Spain, Spanish America, and the United States it is heard on concert programs, in private and public gatherings sung by both professionals and amateurs. Frequently it is

17. The finest discussion of the musical tradition behind Southwestern Spanish songs is to be found in Vicente T. Mendoza's unpublished manuscript, *The Folk Music of New Mexico*. This work, in two volumes, discusses all available material in New Mexico in comparison with like materials in Mexico and Spain. The volumes may be made available by the University of New Mexico Library through inter-library loan.

played by dance bands. Yet it is just an elaborated *villancico*, stanzas followed by a simple refrain,

Ay! ay! ay! ay!  
Canto no llores,  
Porque cantando se alegran,  
Cielito lindo;  
Los corazones.

Ay! Ay! Ay! Ay!  
Singing not weeping,  
For now, in singing, our hearts,  
Cielito lindo,  
Are always happy.

The Spanish *trovador* accompanied the army; he accompanied the trader. He was in demand for fiestas and weddings. Even at wakes, the minstrel's services were in demand.<sup>18</sup> He knew ballads of mourning, songs of successful as well as unrequited love, satires on men and morals. Glance at the titles of any collection of Spanish songs. They will show the range of sentiment covered by Spanish lyrics: *Los Altenitas* (A Gay Ranchero), *Cuatro Milpas* (Four Corn Fields), *Amapola* (The Poppy), *La Noche Está Serena* (The Night is Calm), *Lupita*, *Adelita*, *Te Quiero Porque Te Quiero* (I Love You Because I Love You), *Recuerdos de Amistad* (Memories of Friendship), *La Borrachita* (The Fickle One), *Canción de La Luna* (Song of the Moon), *Ranchera* (Allá en el rancho grande).

"Ay! Caray!" the vaquero says to his *chaparrita*, "Don't weep for your Pancho, because, if he goes from the ranch, he will come back soon and bring you beautiful things and a kiss for your sorrows." *La Chaparrita* is a *canción popular*, and there are new ones and old ones, like the lyrics popular in English. Guitars are always popular in Mexican homes and a song like "La Fiolera," which was originally in an eight-

18. A. L. Campa, "Spanish Folksong in the Southwest," University of New Mexico *Bulletin*, Language Series, Vol. IV, No. 1 (November 15, 1933), p. 10. *La Paloma* and *La Golondrina*, heard throughout Europe and the Americas, are more of the concert stage than of folksong. Yet each is loved for its sentiment. *La Paloma*, composed by Yradier, a nineteenth century professional Cuban writer, has become folk music in much the way "Home, Sweet Home" has become a folksong throughout the English speaking world.



eenth century Italian comic opera will be sung along with "Un Viejo Amor" which sounds like a medieval lyric from Provence.

Everyone sings the Spanish *canciones* at Fiesta time, because they are beautiful; and they carry the romance, the pathos, the humor common to every folk. When boys stroll by the doorstep singing "La Paloma," or when a Spanish dance lyric is played by a Típica orchestra over the radio, the words and music may be those of some forgotten troubadour, but they will still describe the blue of Southwestern skies, the enchantment of moonlit nights, the idle beauty of a butterfly. It is the same world of experience in every century, a world more persistent than state lines or even national boundaries.

### FOLKTALES

The art of story telling in the Southwest has been largely a verbal one. There were no printing presses until early in the nineteenth century, and story telling, had it depended upon a reading public, would have been largely nonexistent. The region was rich in story tellers and their products. In the Rio Grande villages traditional *cuentos* are still told carrying on the lore of folktales known in Spain and other European countries. These stories have been collected in modern times by such scholars as Aurelio Espinosa, Elsie Clews Parsons, Franz Boas, José M. Espinosa, and others. Their work has not only preserved the classic form of these tales but it has shown the influence of European *motifs* upon Indian story traditions. In turn the collections of Spanish tales reflect some Indian elements.<sup>19</sup>

Spanish folktales in the Southwest deal with magic, religion, rogerly, romance, and animal lore. Typical are the themes of poor youths seeking their fortunes aided by God and the Virgin and opposed by giants, witches, or the Devil; rejected suitors winning their sweethearts by bravery and

19. Aurelio Espinosa, "Spanish Folk-Lore in New Mexico," *New Mexico Historical Review*, I (1936), pp. 135-155; Elsie Clews Parsons, "Pueblo Indian Folk-Tales Probably of Spanish Provenience," *Journal of American Folklore*, XXXI (1918), pp. 212-255; Elsie Clews Parsons and Frank Boas, "Spanish Tales from Laguna and Zuni, New Mexico," *Journal of American Folklore*, XXXIII (1920), pp. 47-72; Franz Boas, "Tales of Spanish Provenience from Zuni," *Journal of American Folklore*, XXXV (1922), pp. 62-98; Elizabeth Willis DeHuff, "Pueblo Versions of Old World Tales," *Texas Folklore Society Publications*, XIV (1938), pp. 104-126.

enchanted objects; Cinderellas rewarded for their virtues; innocent princesses wronged by wicked rivals. One of the most popular of all the themes is that of "Juan Oso." This story tells how a girl is stolen by a bear and gives birth to a child, half man and half bear. In his marvelous career this bear-man, Juan, meets three companions with whom he seeks fortune. When three daughters of the king are stolen by a giant, Juan descends into a pit and rescues them. He kills the giant by hitting him in the forehead with an egg given to him by a witch. Then his faithless companions carry off the princesses, leaving Juan in the pit. Finally through the help of the witch Juan reaches the king's palace and exposes his false companions. He marries the youngest daughter and forgives his companions, two of whom also marry princesses. The story of Juan Oso is known not only in its European form but in new versions characteristic of the American Southwest. In the Mexican version, Juan Oso dresses in a *charro* suit, rides in a saddle embroidered with silver, carries an iron walking cane and has for companions a man who runs like an antelope, a hunter who can kill game at such a distance he has no strength to run and get it, and two others who can pull up anything on the earth or suck in air or water enough to cause whirlwinds and a flood. Juan and his men are imprisoned by a wicked king who assigns them such tasks that only miracles can save them from death. These tasks they perform, including one in which Juan Oso descends into a pit after a black devil. He finds there four beautiful maidens whom his companions draw up, abandoning Juan, who has to save himself from the pit. After Juan Oso comes out of the pit, the king gives him his daughter to wed. Juan's companions marry the four beautiful maidens who were rescued from the black devil and the pit.<sup>20</sup> Such traditional *cuentos* have become the roots from which Southwestern story lore in Spanish has grown.

More readily adapted to the region have been the saints tales in the Southwest and stories of lost mines and hidden

20. J. Frank Dobie, *Tongues of the Monte* (1935), pp. 212-226. Cf. a simpler version in Riley Aiken, "A Pack Load of Mexican Tales," *Puro Mexicano*, *Publications of the Texas Folklore Society*, X (1935), pp. 77-79. In Riley Aiken's version Juan's companions are two mighty fellows who flatten out or knock down anything in their path. With their aid, Juan takes a city and becomes powerful without rescuing any maidens or marrying the king's daughter.

treasure. The ruins of old churches, such as those at Gran Quivira in New Mexico, have been honeycombed by treasure hunters who believe that when the priests fled, during the Pueblo Indian Rebellion in 1680, they buried the silver and gold altar vessels and other treasures of the church in a pit dug outside the walls. Then they carved a map on a stone and placed it in the sanctuary of the church beneath the altar. The friars are supposed to have carried away with them tracings on paper of the stone map, and these maps or copies of them have reappeared for more than three centuries. There is a pattern to all these Spanish treasure stories: an early document appears or is reported to have appeared and facts (or the representation of them) relating to concealed treasure become known; then links in the story are broken, usually by murder or Indian attack or the disappearance of central figures; search for the lost locations produce apparently reliable signs confirming the stories, such as relics of previous searchers, traces of ore or coins; the story keeps rebuilding itself by new reports of signs of the treasure and new rumors of those who have talked with someone who knew persons who had heard about it or hunted for it.

The raw material of folktales are these word-of-mouth accounts, such as the lore called *brujería*, witchcraft. Everyone knows, in certain Southwestern communities, of individuals with the power of the evil eye, who must be warded off by crosses, or by tying knots on a rope and saying certain prayers; or, if your name is Juan, by drawing a circle, taking off your shirt, then turning it inside out and throwing it in the circle. Witches will either avoid such charms or be caught by them in a knot or imprisoned within circles. There have been folktales of witches, charms, magic, and magical circles in the Southwest since the days of the Spanish occupation.

Stories of clever rascals are more familiar in the Spanish language than in any other European tongue. These are the themes dealing with the *picaro*. The best known character of this type in Southwestern stories is Pedro Rimales, who appears in clever tricks with merchants, companions, priests, and others. Pedro is shiftless, rascally, and immoral but he is always witty and amusing. A favorite tale of Pedro Rimales is that in which he sells the hogs of his master to the butcher.

Then he cuts off their ears and sticks them in a mud puddle where he leads the owner convincing him that the hogs have been lost in the mire. Pedro lives by his wits and whatever his moral character, he has a tremendous following among listeners.

The Spanish Southwest is a prolific source of folktales, many of which have been recorded from the oral versions. Some of these tales have become the basis for professional writers who have turned them into artistic forms of both literary folktales<sup>21</sup> and passages in novels. Yet even in their simplest versions they illustrate what Tolstoy meant when he remarked of the folktale: "The region of this art of the simplest feelings accessible to all is enormous and it is as yet almost untouched."<sup>22</sup>

21. See chapter, "Literary Folk Tales."

22. Leo Tolstoy, "What is Art?" quoted in "Preface" to *Twenty-Three Tales*, translated by Louise and Alymer Maude for *The World's Classics* (1906, 1921).



PART TWO

LITERATURE OF ANGLO-AMERICAN  
ADVENTURERS AND SETTLERS

1800-c. 1918



## CHRONICLES, TRAVEL BOOKS, JOURNALS

AS ECONOMIC and social life on each frontier repeats the pattern of all frontiers, so the literature recapitulates the development of the written cultural expression of the older settlements. The first literature of an old culture in a new land, as we have seen in the case of the Spanish explorers, is not primarily belles lettres but observations, records of this strange world—plants, animals, climate, primitive people, and the minutiae of pioneer living. Often these early records are preserved in diaries and letters. Sometimes the motive of the writer is to promote settlement in a new Canaan. Many of the books are to further geographical and scientific knowledge; others are for the entertainment of people back home who take their dangers and travel vicariously. These narratives and descriptions are in a few cases produced by professional writers who travel seeking “copy,” but more often they are records by true explorers, adventurers, and pioneer settlers.

The early writings of the Anglo-American settlers naturally belong to the tradition of the Virginia and New England colonists instead of to that of the Spanish explorers. The first Englishman of whom we have any record as journeying into the Southwest seems to have been one M. John Chilton. Richard Hakluyt in *The Principal Voyages of the English Nation* (1598-1600) tells of Chilton's adventures as he traveled from Mexico City through the Southwest to California in the year 1570, and mentions the rumors Chilton heard of the Spanish search for the Seven Cities of Cibola.<sup>1</sup> In 1625 Samuel Purchas in his famous *Pilgrimages* gave to the English-reading public a brief but rather accurate account of Friar Marcos, Stephen the Negro, and Coronado's search for the fabled cities.<sup>2</sup>

1. *Everyman Edition*, VI, pp. 267, 283-284; see also Hakluyt's account in the first edition of *The Principal Voyages*, etc. (1589), pp. 557-562, of the journey of three Englishmen across Texas in the year 1568. Carl Hertzog reprinted this account from Hakluyt, with an introductory essay by E. DeGolyer, for the Peripatetic Press, in El Paso, 1947.

2. *Purchas His Pilgrimage* (Glasgow: James MacLehose & Sons, 1906), XVIII, pp. 61-68.



It was not, however, until the early nineteenth century that Anglo-Americans began in earnest to make explorations into the Southwest. Zebulon Pike was among the first (1805-6-7) but only a small part of his record deals with this section of the country.<sup>3</sup> Of the three narratives that resulted from explorations in Arkansas Territory in 1819 Thomas Nuttall's is the most vivid in details of flora and fauna and appearance and habits of Indian tribes.<sup>4</sup>

One of these early travelers in the Southwest to show real literary talent was a cousin of Stephen F. Austin, Mary Austin Holley, who came to Texas on a visit in 1831. The widow of a former president of Transylvania University, she had a background of books and literary talk. The twelve letters which make up Mrs. Holley's *Texas* (1833) were frankly designed to encourage immigration to the new territory. As the first available book on Texas it attracted so much notice that it was enlarged into a *History of Texas* in 1836.<sup>5</sup>

The most distinguished writer who traveled in the early Southwest was Washington Irving. When he came in 1832 into what is now Oklahoma and Arkansas, he was already famous as a writer in America and England. In his Introduction to *A Tour of the Prairies* (1835) he says that the public expected him to write about the West; so he came avowedly seeking copy, as he had previously traveled in England, Germany, and Spain. From Fort Gibson, accompanied by General M. Arbuckle and Samuel Houston,<sup>6</sup> for one month he roved the Indian country.<sup>7</sup> He saw in the Indians not a dangerous cruel enemy to be exterminated, but the "noble savage" of the romantic tradition who was leading a "sunshiny life . . . on

3. *The Expedition of Zebulon Montgomery Pike to Head Waters of the Mississippi, through Louisiana Territory, and in New Spain, during the years 1805-6-7* (1895).

4. *A Journal of Travels into the Arkansas Territory during the year 1819 . . .* (First edition, 1821). Reuben Gold Thwaites, ed., *Early Western Travels* (1904-1907), Vol. XIII. The other two well known accounts are: Edwin James, *Account of an Expedition from Pittsburg to the Rocky Mountains . . . under the Command of Major S. H. Long*. Thwaites, *op. cit.*, Vol. V; and Timothy Flint, *History of the Mississippi Valley* (1833).

5. See Mary Austin Holley, *Her Life and Her Works*, 1784-1846. Edited by Mary Austin Hatcher (1933).

6. See Marquis James, *The Raven*, pp. 185-186.

7. For the route taken and a map of the tour see J. B. Thoburn, "Irving's Tour on the Prairie," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, X (September, 1932), pp. 426-33. See also Henry Leavitt Ellsworth, *Washington Irving on the Prairie*. Edited by Stanley T. Williams and Barbara D. Simison (1937). From letters of Ellsworth to his wife written in 1832.

vast flowery prairies and under cloudless skies." He recorded Indian legends as told him by a half-breed. He admired the French trappers and hunters and listened to their tales.

Another variant of the findings of an observer in the early Southwest is Frederick Law Olmsted's *A Journey Through Texas* (1857). Olmsted's appraisal was more severe, less glowing than those of Mrs. Holley or Washington Irving. A Yale student, widely traveled in the United States and abroad, he came to Texas in 1853 to observe economic and social conditions. He deplored the way of life in East Texas under the slave system. He found the Spaniards in and around San Antonio dirty and shiftless. Texas food was bad, the coffee "revolting," grammar "execrable." But he was charmed by the prairies. All west of Austin he called "West Texas." The book is valuable as a realistic, sophisticated criticism of life on the frontier from a writer who was the product of the "Golden Age" of New England culture. It links the Southwest with contemporary Eastern urban standards.<sup>8</sup>

More sympathetic with Texas life was Sidney Lanier who came to San Antonio in the 1870's, broken in health from his service in the Confederate Army. He saw the striking contrasts in architecture, language, and customs of the American, German, and Mexican peoples, and recorded his impressions in a charming essay, "San Antonio de Bexar."<sup>9</sup> He was heartened and enriched by the German musical culture there. It is highly probable that his performances as guest flutist for the San Antonio Männerchor influenced his decision to devote his life, not to law, but to music and literature.

Writing with more of a sense of participation, a succession of men and women came to the early Southwest not on a visit or a tour but to be part of the life about which they wrote. Many of these participants recorded straight fact with varying degrees of writing skill: James O. Pattie, Albert Pike, George Kendall, Josiah Gregg, Lewis Garrard, Kit Carson, Colonel Ellis Bean,<sup>10</sup> Susan Magoffin, Elizabeth Custer, Susan Wallace, and Sister Blandina Segale.

8. F. L. Olmsted later became famous for planning Central Park, New York City; Forest Park, St. Louis; and the grounds of Chicago World's Fair, 1893.

9. Lanier in *Retrospects and Prospects* (1899). See also John S. Mayfield, "Lanier in Lastekas," *Southwest Review*, XVII (October, 1931), 20-44.

10. Bean's *Memoirs*, which first appeared in Yoakum's *History of Texas* (1856), deals with prison life in Mexico. New edition, Book Club of Texas (1936).

One of the earliest of these to leave a record was the young Kentuckian, James O. Pattie, who, with his father, came to the Southwest in 1824. In Arizona and parts of New Mexico, where Caucasian civilization had not yet penetrated, he hunted, trapped, fought Indians, and was taken captive. For six years he lived this dangerous life. He set down his adventures with a simple, straightforward style in *The Personal Narrative of James O. Pattie of Kentucky* (1831).

In the spring of 1831 Albert Pike, a Bostonian, started west. He walked much of the way, journeying as far as the Navajo country, exploring, trading, living among the Indians. He met Aaron B. Lewis and recorded his expedition in "Journey in the Prairie." "Narrative of Second Journey in the Prairie" and "The Inroad of the Nabajo" are primarily of his own travels.<sup>11</sup> Pike described the Governor's Palace in Santa Fe as a "mud building 15 feet high, with a mud-covered portico, supported by rough pine pillars." He wrote of both Indians and Spaniards with realism. In 1833 Albert Pike settled in Little Rock, gained renown as a poet, an editor, and lawyer, and built a colonial mansion which is still the show place of the city. He served in the Confederate Army as a brigadier general.<sup>12</sup>

George W. Kendall, of the New Orleans *Picayune*, had mixed motives for joining the ill-advised Texas-Santa Fé Expedition in 1841. His health was bad. He had a desire to see the Indians and take part in a buffalo hunt. He was looking for material for writing. The party set out from Austin on June 18, Kendall in a wagon, on account of a broken ankle. Not until they were well on their way did Kendall learn the real object of what purported to be a trading expedition, but was in fact an attempt to annex New Mexico to the Republic of Texas. Kendall recorded, with a journalist's eye, the blunders, hardships, and inevitable failure of the expedition.<sup>13</sup> The ac-

11. These three accounts were published in *Prose Sketches and Poems* (1834).

12. See biographical introduction to William L. Boyden, *Bibliography of the Writings of Albert Pike* (1931).

13. George W. Kendall, *Narratives of an Expedition Across the Great Southwestern Prairies from Texas to Santa Fé; with an Account of the Disasters which befell the Expedition from Want of Food and the Attacks of Hostile Indians; the Final Capture of the Texans and their Sufferings on a March of Two Thousand Miles as Prisoners of War, and in the Prisons and Lazarettos of Mexico* (1844).

count of the long, tragic march to Mexico City, the imprisonment, and final release of the survivors is particularly moving.<sup>14</sup>

Kendall in his Preface acknowledges help from "Mr. Gregg, an intelligent merchant who has been for many years engaged in the Santa Fé trade and also from Albert Pike . . . a poet and writer of great distinction" who had gone to Santa Fé in 1832. Josiah Gregg, in turn, in the Preface to his *Commerce of the Prairies, The Journal of a Santa Fé Trader* (1844), apologizes for adding another book where Irving "and more recently" Kendall have written. Like Kendall he went to the prairies for his health. From 1831 to 1840 he was a trader. Later he drew on his carefully kept journals for articles to periodicals and for his volume which soon came to be a sort of handbook for travelers over the Santa Fé Trail.

Lewis Hector Garrard gives credit not to Gregg but to Fremont's Report of his 1842-1843 expedition to the Rocky Mountains for turning his fancy West. The year before, when only sixteen, he had "thrown away his schoolbooks" and on a river steamer from his home in Cincinnati had gone to Louisiana and Texas. Now in the summer of 1846 at Westport Landing he joined the caravan of Céran St. Vrain of Taos, member of the famous trading firm of Bent and St. Vrain. Upon his return to Ohio after ten month's absence he recorded in *Wah-To-Yah*<sup>15</sup> and the *Taos Trail* (1850) with boyish gusto and humor his experiences on the Trail, and in and near Bent's Fort and Taos. For several months of this time he lived with the Cheyennes, delighting in their free life. The news of the insurrection at Taos during which Charles Bent was killed brought these carefree days to an end for Garrard. His account of the hanging of the eighty and more rebels at Taos is realistic tragedy. Three modern editions of *Wah-To-Yah* attest to the lasting interest of Garrard's book.<sup>16</sup>

Susan Shelby Magoffin, said by some to be the first American lady to cross the plains, refers several times in her diary *Down the Santa Fé Trail and into New Mexico, 1846-1847* to the books of Kendall and Gregg. These she had evidently

14. For Kendall's *Narrative* as a source for Hervey Allen's *Anthony Adverse*, see *Saturday Review of Literature*, January 13, 1934.

15. The name meaning "Breasts of the World" given by the Indians to the Spanish Peaks in southern Colorado.

16. See Bibliography.

studied preparatory for her journey with her trader husband. Well educated, the daughter of an illustrious Kentucky family, she showed an intelligent interest in everything she saw and heard. She kept a detailed and, except for periods of illness or imminent danger, a day by day record of events. This expedition, like the one Kendall accompanied, was no usual trading trip, but had the secret purpose of paving the way "for General Kearney's bloodless conquest of the Southwest." This diary is a significant record of the courage and graciousness of a gently bred lady in the Southwest during the dangerous years of the Mexican War.

Not until after the Civil War did another woman, coming into the Southwest with her husband, write of historic events, people, and places. Elizabeth Custer in 1865 was in Texas with her husband the boy general, George A. Custer, and the government troops. Her lively accounts of army life in the turbulent post-war days in what seemed at first to her to be "the stepping off place" still make good reading.<sup>17</sup>

In 1878 another army wife, Susan Wallace, came to the Southwest with her husband, General Lew Wallace, newly appointed Governor of New Mexico Territory. In Santa Fe for three years she presided over the Governor's Palace. In long-locked buildings behind the palace she rescued from the damp and mould old Spanish records and, with her knowledge of the language, deciphered historical documents. She visited pueblos, turquoise and silver mines, and the ruins of Casa Grande and Montezuma's Palace. Always she was excited by the long distances and the antiquity of Indian and Spanish civilization. While the Governor was writing *Ben Hur*, she was recording the Southwest scene, the people, their history and legends. These articles were published in magazines, among them *The Atlantic*, and later, in 1889, collected and republished in *The Land of the Pueblos*.

A year before the Wallaces came to live in *El Palacio*, a lone, Italian born Sister of Charity from Ohio, Sister Blandina Segale, started her work in the Catholic Orphan Asylum and Hospital in Santa Fe. For twelve years in Santa Fe and Albuquerque, with rare courage and endurance, she taught Spanish

17. Elizabeth Custer, *Tenting on the Plains; or General Custer in Kansas and Texas* (1887).

children, tended the sick, promoted building expansion, often making adobe bricks and plastering walls herself. She nursed the aging Archbishop Lamy with whom she had formed a tender friendship. For weeks she visited daily a wounded bandit of Billy the Kid's gang and in return received the Kid's protection on lonely coach trips. Once alone with a cross held before her she walked through the desert toward a menacing Apache band and persuaded them to negotiate with the Whites. All of this and much more she recorded with realism and humor in a journal to her own sister in the Order, Sister Justina, then in Ohio. Without revision in 1932 it was published in book form. *At the End of the Santa Fe Trail* stands as a rare chronicle of the courage of a selfless woman.

Another group of early participants in Southwestern life spiced fact with fiction. It is often impossible to distinguish between the actual and the fabricated. The borderline is very thin. Legends, tall tales, episodes expanded with fictionized dialogue, composite and imaginary type-characters embellish these narratives. In this group belong David Crockett,<sup>18</sup> George Ruxton, Frederick Gerstaeker, and John Crittenden Duval.

One of the earliest of the fictionized narratives was by George Frederick Ruxton, an English sportsman and explorer. After varied experiences in the West he wrote for *Blackwood's Magazine* of 1848 a serial, *Life in the Far West*, later published in book form with the title *In the Old West, As It Was in the Days of Kit Carson and the "Mountain Men"* (1920).<sup>19</sup> The characters and most of the incidents are real, though some of the names of people are changed; the plot is fictionized. There is much use of dialect and Western idiom. Old Killbuck, the veteran trapper, is a Cooperesque character. The book is made up of swift action, romance, and an almost unbelievable coincidence that happened to be true. It contains all the elements of a good Western movie.

Probably less fictionized but employing more legends and

18. Discussed in Chapter II, "Humor and Tall Tales."

19. Of the numerous contemporary books about Kit Carson none are of literary value, although useful for source material. One of these is *Kit Carson's Own Story of His Life*, as dictated to Colonel and Mrs. D. C. Peters about 1856-57. Edited by Blanche Grant (1926). See also Henry Nash Smith, "Kit Carson Books," *Southwest Review*, XXVIII (1942-1943), 164-189.

tall tales to spice the plain truth is Frederick Gerstaecker's *Wild Sports in the Far West* (1860). Gerstaecker, a German writer, came to America in 1837 to hunt big game. Disappointed at finding no bear tracks around New York City, he started on foot for Arkansas, the paradise of hunters. For four years he hunted and trapped and listened to the tales of the veteran bear killers. Like Irving, Gerstaecker found frontier life and characters picturesque and romantic.

John Crittenden Duval, whom J. Frank Dobie calls the Father of Texas Literature, grew up under the Irving influence.<sup>20</sup> Indeed, his father William Pope Duval, the first governor of the Territory of Florida, was the hero of Irving's *The Early Experiences of Ralph Ringwood* (1855). Young John C., aged nineteen, came to Texas in 1836 with a company of Bardstown, Kentucky, men under the captaincy of his older brother, Burr. Like David Crockett they longed to help Texas in the struggle for independence from Mexico. John C. was one of the few survivors of the massacre of Goliad. He encountered almost unbelievable privations and dangers, living for months by his wits in the cane brakes.

In 1867-1868 his narrative of these experiences ran under the title of *Jack Dobell; Or, A Boy's Adventures in Texas* as a serial, in *Burke's Weekly*, published in Macon, Georgia. In 1892, with only minor changes, the story appeared in book form as *Early Times in Texas; or the Adventures of Jack Dobell* by J. C. Dobell. The amount of fiction is probably slight. He called himself Jack Dobell and perhaps amplified the Robinson Crusoe nature of his experience. William Corner writing in 1897 predicted, "Some day this will be a Texas classic . . ." <sup>21</sup>

Duval's better-known book, *The Adventures of Big-Foot Wallace* (1870), based on the life of his friend and comrade in Jack Hay's company of Texas Rangers, is probably more fictionized in certain parts.<sup>22</sup> The ill-fated Mier Expedition, however, of which Wallace was a survivor, is recounted in straight chronicle manner and is the most valuable account of that tragic episode of Texas history. Duval's book on Big-Foot

20. See Introductions to Major and Smith editions of *The Adventures of Big-Foot Wallace* and *Early Times in Texas* (1936).

21. *Quarterly of Texas State Historical Association*, No. 1.

22. For humorous elements of *The Adventures of Big-Foot Wallace* see Chapter II, "Humor and Tall Tales."

still stands as the liveliest and most interesting of the accounts of this early hero.<sup>23</sup>

The faithful, vivid record of their adventures left by the intrepid men and women who established Anglo-American culture in the Southwest is a worthy chapter of our literature.

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23. A. J. Sowell's *Life of Big-Foot Wallace* (1899), although a valuable record is without literary merit. Stanley Vestal's *Big-Foot Wallace* (1942), while following closely ascertainable facts, falls short of the spirit of the man. For other accounts of the Mier Expedition see General Thomas J. Green, *Journal of the Texian Expedition Against Mier* (1845); William Preston Stapp, *The Prisoners of Perote* (1845); and Frederick Chabot, *The Perote Prisoners* (1934).



## II

### HUMOR AND TALL TALES

The American frontier produced a characteristic humor based upon the experiences of pioneer life. Lonely people tell tales for their own pleasure: adventures, anecdotes of eccentric characters in the neighborhood, and traditions bordering on the supernatural. The tellers exaggerate or understate to furnish that surprise element and incongruity which underlie all simple humor. Thus, a backwoodsman would recount how he had outwitted a greenhorn or killed a "bar" of prodigious size or how some mighty man of his acquaintance once waded the Mississippi with a tree stump for a walking stick—all the while keeping a solemn face and a leisurely manner. The formula of such tales is easily recognized. A homespun narrator vouches for the truth of his yarn; he has seen it or heard it from a reliable witness. Slowly the stage is set with a frontier background; then the tall hero or clumsy victim—or both—are introduced, and the action begins. The hero does mighty deeds and the victim is discomfited. Often the setting includes stupendous natural phenomena with episodes of super-snakes or windstorms or grasshoppers, which can develop into independent tales.<sup>1</sup>

This humor of character in action, of violent contrast, is fundamentally related to humor in all ages; but it takes deep root on the American frontier and spreads westward with it. Humor is the American folkway of passing judgment on the contemporary scene. A people not addicted to open compliments can best express their admiration of Davy Crockett or Kit Carson or Sam Houston by preserving tales of his prowess compounded equally of hero-worship and burlesque. If the frontier loves a man, it "joshes" him. Or, with equal swiftness, the pioneer community uses humor to deflate and crush those

1. Consult Walter Blair, *Native American Humor* (1937) and *Tall Tale America* (1944); Franklin Meine, *Tall Tales of the Southwest* (1930); Constance Rourke, *American Humor* (1930); J. Frank Dobie's Preface to Mody Boatright, *Tall Tales from Texas Cow Camps* (1934); Mody Boatright, "Frontier Humor: Despairing or Buoyant," *Southwest Review*, XXVII (Spring, 1942), 320-334.

who do not fit into its way of life. It laughs into insignificance and impotence the cowardly, the pompous, the eccentric, the specialized persons in its midst.

This tradition of humor came to the Southwest with the Anglo-American settlers, both as a habit of living and as a literary tradition. For the half century following 1830, humorous books, magazines, newspaper columns, and lecturers added to the joy of the nation and shouted to the world the social judgments of the frontier. Mark Twain, son of the Great Valley, elevated Western humor into literature.<sup>2</sup> In all this the Southwest shared, but inevitably it added new materials and humorists to the tradition, keeping the familiar patterns and techniques.

One of the famous tales of the Trans-Mississippi frontier is T. B. Thorpe's "The Big Bear of Arkansas."<sup>3</sup> The author is making a trip on a Mississippi River steamboat, and in digressive style relates the tales he hears from the passengers regarding wild turkeys and mosquitoes in the vicinity. Then the "man from Arkansas" begins his yarn of the big bear. "Stranger," he said, "in bar hunts *I am numerous . . .*" and we are involved at once in the pursuit of a bear as weird and supernatural as Moby Dick or the White Stallion of the Plains.

David Crockett, of Tennessee, was the first frontier humorist to whom the new Southwest could lay legitimate claim. As a redoubtable hunter and coonskin politician in his native state, Crockett had written or at least had inspired two considerable books of his adventures, *A Narrative of the Life of David Crockett* (1834) and *An Account of Colonel Crockett's Tour to the North and Down East* (1835) before he decided to leave politics in Tennessee to Andrew Jackson and "lend the Texians a helping hand." *Colonel Crockett's Exploits and Adventures in Texas* (1836) was written, of course, entirely or partially by someone else, but it is in the same general style as the others.<sup>4</sup> In all three the manner is that of the frontier humorist. Crockett is relating his own adventures throughout and so must be his own hero, but he burlesques his achievements and joshes about himself in the salty pioneer way. He digresses to include

2. Consult Bernard De Voto, *Mark Twain's America* (1931).

3. Meine, *op. cit.*, pp. 7-21. For Ozark folk beliefs, many of which are humorous, see Vance Randolph's *Ozark Superstitions* (1947).

4. Constance Rourke, *Davy Crockett* (1930), pp. 247-76.

minor anecdotes such as his trading a coonskin over and over for whiskey and the familiar yarn of the fellow rehearsing a fight all by himself.<sup>5</sup> Crockett's stories use dialect and homely aphorisms to give them flavor, a device consciously cultivated by the humorous journalist-lecturers.

Crockett's books illustrate the fact that in the early days the humor of the Southwest was an adjunct to other kinds of writing. Many adventure and travel accounts were cast in that form or enlivened by it. For example, the narrative of George Frederick Ruxton, originally published as *Life in the Far West* (1848), presents a mountain man, Killbuck, who draws a long bow in relating his travels, especially his getting lost in the "putrified forest," a true tall tale, that is to say, a gorgeous lie, worthy of Sir John Mandeville or Baron Munchausen. An Englishman, Ruxton unerringly perceived the humorous anecdote to be characteristic of the new country.

Another excellent travel record, Lewis Garrard's *Wah-to-Yah* (1850), is rich in humor, especially in dialect and the rhythm of tale-telling. His best character creation is Hatcher, one time foreman at Bent's Fort, who has "an inexhaustible fund of anecdotes and humor, which kept his camp circle in a continual roar." The long inset story of his descent into hell is one of the best of all pioneer devil legends.<sup>6</sup> Somewhat later in date but of the same brand is the humor of John C. Duval, which pervades most of his account of *The Adventures of Big-Foot Wallace* (1870). The anecdotes of fights with wolves, Indians, and cattle stealers, while serious in action, are told with the exaggeration and nonchalance that mark the frontier yarn-swapper, and even the tragic Mier Expedition is enlivened by homely details and understatement. The ridicule of a tenderfoot author touring Texas in search of material seems bookish; but it is well to recall that Duval and many other frontier writers were possessed of a literary background. In Part III of the *Adventures* Big-Foot goes back to the settlements to take the measure of town men and ways. He sees the sights of New Orleans, and entertains the girls in Virginia with

5. This episode in Chap. III of the *Exploits* parallels almost *verbatim* a similar scene in A. B. Longstreet's *Georgia Scenes* (1835), quoted in Meine, *op. cit.*, as "Georgia Theatrics," pp. 337-39.

6. Compare with Frank Goodwyn, *The Devil in Texas* (1936).

tall tales of Texas. In any company he turns out to be a first-rate man.

The professional journalists who made humor their staple were at the height of their vogue when the Southwest was being settled. As early as 1858, S. A. Hammett found the Southwest apt material to include in one of his popular Sam Slick series, *In Piney Woods Tavern; or, Sam Slick in Texas*. In Austin in the early 1880's Alexander Sweet and J. Armory Knox issued *Texas Siftings*, a weekly journal of "cheerful statistics, hilarious facts, and solemn truths." In this tradition young Will Porter (O. Henry) wrote funny pieces for *The Rolling Stone* in Austin a few years later. The last great frontier humorist was Will Rogers of Oklahoma, cowboy philosopher, whose newspaper column and radio programs epitomized the common sense of the American people in the two decades following the first World War.

The most indigenous of all Southwestern tall tales is the legend of the folk hero. On a frontier made unusually violent by climate and long distances and mounted Indians, literally anything might happen and a strong, resourceful man was looked up to by all. His fame grew apace. The typical hero of the region is some historical person about whom legends gather. We have noted the exaggeration of David Crockett into a legendary figure; and to a less degree the same phenomenon took place with Kit Carson and Sam Houston. An early clear-cut example of the metamorphosis of real man into folk hero is Captain Aylett C. Buckner, of the Old Three Hundred, who settled with Austin in Texas in 1821, who became Strap Buckner, the hero of terrific encounters with black bulls and the devil.<sup>7</sup> Equally interesting is Mabry C. Gray, a San Jacinto and Mexican War fighter, who became Mustang Gray, outlaw hero of a novel, a ballad, and countless tales, oral and written.<sup>8</sup>

The lawbreaker has often seemed a hero on the frontier, a Robin Hood defying range laws and asserting his freedom. Among the Southwest's "bad men," the most feared and re-

7. Consult H. F. McDaniel and N. A. Taylor, *The Coming Empire or Two Thousand Miles in Texas on Horseback* (1877), pp. 49-73; N. A. Taylor, "The Devil and Strap Buckner," *Publications of the Texas Folk-Lore Society*, III (1924), 118-30; Florence E. Barns, "Strap Buckner of the Texas Frontier," *Publications of the Texas Folk-Lore Society*, VIII (1930), 129-51.
8. J. Frank Dobie, "Mustang Gray: Fact, Tradition, and Song," *Publications of the Texas Folk-Lore Society*, X (1932), 109-23.

membered is the boy bandit, Billy the Kid. Killed in 1881 after an amazing career of horse-stealing and murder, Billy became a legend with good men vying for the honor of having known him or killed him.<sup>9</sup> More glamorous still is the young train robber, Sam Bass, who first came out to Texas, "a cowboy for to be," but who soon thought he had "the world by the tail, with a downhill pull." He not only gave gold to the poor, but, so the folk still believe, he buried it in caves all over the state. Almost immediately after his death, a paper-back life of him appeared; he is still commemorated by scholars and popular singers alike.<sup>10</sup> But the outlaws were not alone the heroes of the frontier. The enforcers of the law likewise loomed large. For example, Judge Roy Bean, who was "Law West of the Pecos," lived a rich life in all truth and has steadily become a legend not only in the Southwest but on the screen.<sup>11</sup>

Gib Morgan of oil field fame, was a real person, too, born in Western Pennsylvania in 1842. Like David Crockett and Big-Foot Wallace he was himself a teller of tall tales, often of places where he had never been as Russia and Texas. His stories of his fantastic deeds have spread and grown with the oil industry. Though the records say he died in 1909, he is still laying pipe line under the ocean and bringing in wells in Texas with a needle and thread.<sup>12</sup>

Less indigenous to the Southwest than the historical heroes but equally colorful are the mythical doers-of-great deeds. Paul Bunyan has intermittently deserted his logging camp to become an oil man here;<sup>13</sup> and John Henry, that "hammer-swingin', cotton-snatchin', natchal man," must have ridden the Cotton Belt sometime or other into this region.<sup>14</sup> The tallest folk hero in the Southwest is a late comer, Pecos Bill, who did not break into print apparently until about twenty-five years ago. The superlative cowboy is Pecos Bill; all the adventures are his,

9. An early account of Billy the Kid is Charles A. Siringo, *A Texas Cowboy* (1886), pp. 196-230; 269-84. See also Walter Noble Burns, *Saga of Billy the Kid* (1926); Pat Garrett, *The Life of Billy the Kid* (1927); George W. Coe, *Frontier Fighter* (1934).

10. Wayne Gard, *Sam Bass* (1936).

11. Everett Lloyd, *Law West of the Pecos* (1931); C. L. Sonnichsen, *Roy Bean, Law West of the Pecos* (1943).

12. Mody Boatright, *Gib Morgan, Minstrel of the Oil Fields* (1945).

13. John Lee Brooks, "Paul Bunyan: Oil Man," *Publications of the Texas Folk-Lore Society*, VII (1929), 45-54.

14. Roark Bradford, *John Henry* (1931).

even courting the ladies, a field into which heroes rarely adventure in the tradition of Southwestern humor. If Davy Crockett of legend, with the sunrise in his pocket, is the first of our true folk heroes, the last may well be Pecos Bill, "a-settin' on that tornado and a-spurrin' it in the withers."<sup>15</sup>

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15. Edward O'Reilly, "Saga of Pecos Bill," *Century Magazine*, CVI (1923), 827-33; Mody Boatright, *op. cit.*, pp. 68-100; James C. Bowman, *Pecos Bill: The Greatest Cowboy of All Time* (1937); Leigh Peck, *Pecos Bill and Lightning* (1940).

### III

## FOLK BALLADS

The rivals of the raconteur of tall tales as an entertainer on the frontier were the ballad singer and fiddler. Whether the gathering was a house-warming to which hundreds came in wagons or on horseback or just the family before the fireplace in winter, the person who could sing or play a tune took the place of modern radio and dance orchestra. And this music was something that all could take part in, adding stanzas to the ballads, joining in on the chorus, or swinging one's partner and "do-se-do-ing" to the fiddler's tunes. Life was made happier by the old British ballads, the traditional tunes, the more newly improvised cowboy songs, and, wherever there were Negroes, by the haunting spirituals and rhythmic work songs.<sup>1</sup>

Tracing earlier American versions of the British ballads sung in the Southwest results in a population chart of the origins of the inhabitants. A few of these ballads came from the North and a few direct from Great Britain. But most of them came in by the Southern route from the mountains of Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, Arkansas.

The most cherished of the British ballads were the love songs, mostly tragic. The mournful tales of cruel Barbara Allan and Sweet William, and of bloodthirsty Lord Thomas and Fair Eleanor were sung as the pioneers walked beside their wagon trains or mothers hushed their babies. At frontier gatherings they were even used for play-party games. Thus the ballad and dance were reunited after a long separation.<sup>2</sup> Most of the ancient ballads of the supernatural lost their mystical elements and became mere love ballads with local place names

1. For discussions of theories of ballad origin see: Francis James Child, *English and Scottish Popular Ballads* (1882-1889); Francis Barton Gummere, *The Popular Ballad* (1907); Gordon Hall Gerould, *The Ballad of Tradition* (1932); "Making of Ballads," *Modern Philology* XXI (Aug., 1923), 15 ff.; Louise Pound, *Poetic Origins of the Ballad* (1921), "A Recent Theory of Ballad Making," *Publications of Modern Language Association*, XLIV (June, 1929), 622 ff.
2. Mabel Major, "British Ballads in Texas," *Publications of the Texas Folk-Lore Society*, X (1932), 131-138; and Vance Randolph, *Ozark Mountain Folks* (1932).

instead of the British ones. A few sea ballads survived their long overland trek from the Atlantic seaboard; a few came in by the Gulf. Humorous ballads survived mostly for the children. Many people living in the Southwest today grew up entertained by their own family version of "The Frog's Courting."<sup>3</sup>

A gifted singer would often make up new ballads relating the tragic happenings of the community—an Indian raid, a fatal shooting, a mine cave-in, or the exploits of a bad man such as Sam Bass.<sup>4</sup> But to a great extent the old songs were more popular, and, together with the walnut bureau and fragile blue china brought in the covered wagon, gave a sense of the continuity of life in a strange environment.

Although a few of the narrative songs were used for play-party games, the play-party song is a type in itself. The narrative element is unimportant, repetition is prevalent, nonsense refrains are usual, and directions for the dancers are a part of the song, making the presence of a "caller" unnecessary.<sup>5</sup> In fact, the distinction between play-party games and square dances is chiefly that in the former the players sing and follow the directions in the song; in the latter, which can be more lively, a fiddler plays and a "caller" chants the directions for the figures. He may be the fiddler or even one of the dancers who is "long on breath."

Many people in the Southwest still sing ballads and play-party songs. In some communities square dances have survived or been revived, as the famous Cowboy's Christmas Ball at Anson, Texas. For a time it looked as if these traditional ways of entertainment would give place to the movie, the radio, the phonograph, and the swing orchestra. However, the radio singers and recordings are aiding in keeping alive and even spreading interest in folk music. Now, just as the latest Broadway and Hollywood hits, grand operas and symphonies are heard in the most remote sections of the country, the folk songs and tunes have their audiences in the metropolitan areas.

3. L. W. Payne, Jr., "Some Texas Versions of the Frog's Courting," *Publications of the Texas Folk-Lore Society*, V (1926), 5 ff.

4. Charles Finger, *Frontier Outlaw Ballads* (1927).

5. W. A. Owens, *Swing and Turn* (1936). B. A. Botkin, "Play-Party in Oklahoma," *Publications of the Texas Folk-Lore Society*, VII (1928), 7 ff.



Although the cowboy songs <sup>6</sup> are the most nearly indigenous of Southwest ballads, some of these derive from old English songs. "The Dying Cowboy," the most widely known of them all, is a sort of parody and adaptation of the English sea chanty, "The Ocean Burial," <sup>7</sup> and "The Cowboy's Dream" is sung to the tune of "My Bonnie Lies Over the Ocean." Both of these are night herding songs. Many of the range ballads, however, are entirely original and sprang out of the cattle industry itself, such as the trail drivers' "Whoopee Ti Yi Yo"—with the crack of a whip at a lagging dogie's heels for its refrain. "Old Paint," a song of the homeward trail after driving a herd north to market, came to be the "Home Sweet Home" of cowboy dances.

Who composed many of these songs no one knows though only a few decades have passed. It would be almost as impossible to trace their inception as to find the origin of "Sir Patrick Spens" or "The Wife of Usher's Well." John Lomax sees in these songs of the range evidences of group authorship that he advances as support of the communal authorship theory of medieval European ballads as held by Gummere, Child, Wendell, Kittredge, and others.<sup>8</sup> Louise Pound, on the other hand, interprets what can be learned of the origin of cowboy ballads to uphold her adherence to the individual authorship theory of ballad origin.<sup>9</sup> With most of these songs, as with the British, there are as many variants as there are singers. Multiple composition has been achieved in fact, if not according to the group authorship theory.

One true cowboy ballad-maker was Howard N. (Jack) Thorp, the author of "Little Joe the Wrangler" and some twenty-five lesser known ballads.<sup>10</sup> Born in 1867, the son of a New York lawyer, he came West as a youth to visit his brother's cattle ranch in Nebraska. Thorp became a rancher himself in the San Andrés Mountains of New Mexico in the '80's. He

6. See the collections by Jack Thorp and John Lomax.

7. Ernest E. Leisy, "O Bury Me Not." *Publications of the Texas Folk-Lore Society*, IX (1931), 183 ff.

8. *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, XXVIII (Jan.-March, 1915) 1 ff. Also Introduction to *Cowboy Songs* (1910).

9. See Note 1, p. 64.

10. Howard N. (Jack) Thorp died June 4, 1940, a few months before his article, "Banjo in the Cow Camps," telling of his collecting cowboy songs, appeared in *The Atlantic Monthly*. It is reprinted in Thorp's posthumous book in collaboration with Neil McCullough Clark, *Pardner of the Wind* (1945).

pioneered in collecting ballads in the West, riding from cow camp to cow camp on his first song hunt in 1889. At Estancia, New Mexico, in 1908 he published his first collection, a small paper-backed volume of twenty-three ballads, five of which he had composed himself.<sup>11</sup> Unfortunately not until 1921 in *Songs of the Cowboys*, a volume expanded to one hundred and one songs, did he acknowledge authorship of his own ballads.

The most extensive collections of cowboy songs have been made by John A. Lomax. Born the same year as Jack Thorp, he grew up on a bottom land farm in Bosque County, Texas. As a boy he learned to sing cowboy songs and wrote down all he heard. Not until he was a graduate student at Harvard in 1907 did he find anyone in the academic world interested in his roll of Western ballads. The great folklorists Barrett Wendell and George Lyman Kittredge aided him in securing a Sheldon Fellowship for ballad collecting. Since then he has had many fellowships and grants for this purpose. His first volume *Cowboy Songs and Other Frontier Ballads*, with music for eighteen of the ballads, appeared in 1910 with an introduction by Professor Wendell. It contained too, a letter from Theodore Roosevelt making the interesting observation, "There is something very curious in the reproduction here on this new continent of essentially the conditions of ballad-growth which obtained in medieval England. . ." In 1918 Mr. Lomax published "an overflow book," *Songs of the Cattle Trail and Cow Camp*. In *Adventures of a Ballad Hunter* (1947) John Lomax with a genius for recreating places, singers, and moods sets down the record of his more than half a century of folk song collecting.<sup>11a</sup>

Some of the Negro folk songs in the Southwest have grown up here, but a large group came in from the plantations of the Old South. The ballad of "The Boll Weevil" originated somewhere in Texas with the coming of the pest about thirty-five years ago.<sup>12</sup> Since then, the pest and the song have spread to every cotton-growing state in the nation. The origin of

11. Despite Thorp's statement in the "Preface"—"I plead ignorant of the authorship of them"—he really knew a good deal about these songs both as to authorship and circumstance. In his 1921 volume, he annotates all of the songs, including those in his original collection.

11a. John A. Lomax died January 27, 1948, in Greenville, Mississippi, while on a lecture tour.

12. Dorothy Scarborough, *On the Trail of the Negro Folk Song* (1925).

"Frankie and Johnnie" is disputed; some say it tells of a Negro shooting craps at Paris, Texas. Many of these Negro songs survive from slave days. One of the most interesting is "Foller de Drinkin' Gou'd" (the Big Dipper) in which directions were given in song form by a peg-legged Northern Negro for slaves to follow a certain route North to freedom.<sup>13</sup> It is still bad luck for a Negro to let a white man hear him sing this song. "What Is Dis?," with its haunting, weird melody, is said to have been made by a dying slave woman whose cruel mistress had choked her nearly to death.<sup>14</sup>

The most beautiful of the Negro songs, the spirituals, deal with Biblical stories and religious exaltation. Some of them even have haunting suggestions of Africa and paganism. "Swing Low Sweet Chariot," "Glory Road," "God's Heben," "Nobody Knows the Trouble I've Seen," sung by the richly emotional Negro voices, thrill blacks and whites alike.

So great is the power of song over Negroes that employers often hire gifted Negroes at double wages to lead the workers in singing as they drive railroad spikes or work on the levee. Work songs, usually with a large amount of repetition, have grown up to the rhythm of the special work the singers are doing.

Among the collectors of Negro folk songs of the Southwest are Dorothy Scarborough and John A. and Alan Lomax. Miss Scarborough's *On the Trail of the Negro Folk Song* (1925) shows a rare understanding of the Negro on farm and plantation. The Lomaxes—father and son—recorded chiefly the moving, often brutal songs from convicts in penitentiaries and on prison farms.<sup>15</sup>

In spite of mechanical music, the people of the Southwest are still more a singing people than those of more urbanized sections of the country. The outdoor season is long; the open country is never far away; summer evenings are made for picnics and song and long rides into the westering moon.

13. *Publications of Texas Folk-Lore Society*, VII (1928), 81 ff.

14. In the collection of Virginia Bales, *ibid.*, p. 109.

15. *American Ballads and Folk Songs* (1934), *Negro Folk Songs as Sung by Lead Belly* (1937), and *Our Singing Country* (1941). John Lomax states in *Adventures of a Ballad Hunter* (p. 296) that along with Alan Lomax he has contributed more than ten thousand songs on records to the Archive of American Folk Song of the Library of Congress. A great many of these were collected in the Southwest.

## IV

### HISTORICAL WRITING

The first historians of any new region are the writers of travel books and journals. These chronicles in the early Southwest have already been discussed; but it is worth while to note that the region is still new enough to impel authors today to record pioneer adventures.

In Colonial America nearly three centuries ago the first chroniclers wrote personal, informal, simple narratives. After the establishment of a political government and the waging of wars to defend it, formal political histories were produced, flavored with strong patriotic sentiment. As culture increased, private individuals and libraries and colleges collected historical documents; scholars were trained to study and edit them. With these resources at hand, the scientific historians of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries have thoroughly re-examined the evidence of the national past, and have interpreted it in the light of modern social and economic theories.<sup>1</sup>

Much this same sequence, on a smaller scale, has appeared in the Anglo-American historical writing of the Southwest.<sup>2</sup> In the wake of the first type of writing, the travels and adventures, appeared the more formal political state histories, with a patriotic bias. It was shortly following the Texas War for Independence that William Kennedy's *Texas* (1841) and Henderson Yoakum's *History of Texas* (1856) were published, works which established the beginnings of the republic-state on a sound basis of idealism and democratic policy. These histories, dignified in tone and concerned with public events, followed the great example of Bancroft's *American Annals*,

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1. See *Cambridge History of American Literature* (1921), Vol. I, Chs. I-II; Vol. II, Ch. XVII; Vol. III, Ch. XV; and Michael Kraus, *A History of American History* (1938).

2. Somewhat arbitrarily we discuss here those histories of the Southwest which have been written by authors working in the region, thereby omitting many noteworthy scholarly studies originating elsewhere, such as George P. Winship's *The Coronado Expedition, 1540-1542* (1896) and Justin H. Smith, *The Annexation of Texas* (1911).

and were in turn followed by many other conventional Texas histories—H. S. Thrall's *History of Texas* (1879), John Henry Brown's *History of Texas* (1893), Dudley G. Wooten's *Comprehensive History of Texas* (1898), and others.

Arkansas, rich in early travel literature, spent its initial historical impulse in chronicling the Civil War rather than its own story. However, John Hallum's *Biographical and Pictorial History of Arkansas* (1887) furnished a survey of the life of the state, and was enriched by a dozen sketches contributed by Albert Pike. First place among early state historians of New Mexico is generally conceded to W. W. H. Davis, whose *El Gringo* (1857) and *The Spanish Conquest of New Mexico* (1869) made accessible in a clear, pleasant style, the materials in the early Spanish narratives. Historians in New Mexico, which included Arizona until 1863, naturally have emphasized the colorful early events of that region.<sup>3</sup> Since Oklahoma was not officially opened to white American settlers until 1889, little formal historical writing was done until early in the next century. A distinguished pioneer in the Oklahoma field is Edward Everett Dale, of the University of Oklahoma, author of *Territorial Acquisitions of the United States* (1912), *History of Oklahoma* (with J. S. Buchanan, 1924), whose scholarship places him with the modern school of historians.

"The Southwest is best covered by the various volumes of Hubert Howe Bancroft's *Works*," writes Herbert E. Bolton, himself an authority in the field.<sup>4</sup> "All . . . writers on the Southwest," says F. L. Paxson, historian of the American frontier, "owe a debt to the great collector and preserver of local records, Hubert Howe Bancroft of San Francisco, who wrote, edited, or signed nearly forty great volumes of Pacific Coast history between 1874 and 1890. From his collections, now owned by the University of California, there come frequent volumes of scholarly writings . . ."<sup>5</sup> With H. H. Bancroft, historical writing in the Southwest attained scholarly maturity, for he gathered and utilized vast original source materials,

3. See Charles F. Lummis, *Spanish Pioneers* (1893); Frank W. Blackmar, *Spanish Institutions in the Southwest* (1891); R. E. Twitchell, *Leading Facts of New Mexican History* (1911-1912); C. F. Coan, *A Shorter History of New Mexico* (1925).

4. *The Spanish Borderlands* (1921), bibliographical note, p. 298.

5. F. L. Paxson, *History of the American Frontier* (1924), p. 351 footnote.

documented his narratives with copious notes and bibliographies. For the purposes of this study the most valuable of his volumes are the two titled *History of the North Mexican States and Texas* (1889) and *History of Arizona and New Mexico* (1889). In spite of their rich documentation and great length, these histories are not heavy or dull, for Bancroft writes fluently and interestingly. The first chapter, for example, of the work on Arizona and New Mexico, with its discussion of the Northern Mystery and Cabeza de Vaca, is a model introduction to the subject.

After scholarship has accumulated and recorded sources, the next step in historical writing is sound, modern interpretation. That step in the Southwest was first taken by George P. Garrison, of the University of Texas. In *Texas, A Contest of Civilization* (1903), and other studies, as well as in his long career as a teacher,<sup>6</sup> he integrated the colonization of Texas and the Mexican War with the main currents of settlement on the widespread American frontier. He showed that much more than the issue of slavery was involved, and thereby rescued the history of Texas from the unfavorable interpretations given to it by Northern historians writing in the prejudice of Civil War issues. It may well be said that the writing of history in the Southwest took on a national significance with the work of Garrison.

During the first century of Anglo-American occupation of the Southwest, the historical writings have been rich and valuable. We have considered here the older types of work: the formal state histories which follow early travel accounts. Many of them are conventional in style, somewhat rhetorical, and, in some cases, chauvinistic; but few frontier regions can match them for variety, interest, and color. Later on we shall discuss the more recent scholarly editing and modern interpretation of historical materials in the region.

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6. Among the distinguished historians who were trained under Garrison are Eugene C. Barker, Herbert Bolton, Charles Ramsdell, Walter P. Webb, and Charles Hackett.

## V

### ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND ANTHROPOLOGICAL WRITINGS

History treats of man's past and present as a political creature; anthropology treats of man's span of existence as a social creature. Paralleling the early scientific investigation by regional historians were the explorations and reports by the pioneer archaeologists, workers in that branch of anthropology which deals with man's prehistory as revealed in his ancient artifacts and monuments. It is the archaeologists who have shown that America has an early history and that American culture has in it indigenous as well as European elements. Too many American scholars in history, literature, and the arts have assumed that all elements in American civilization are of relatively recent date and of European derivation entirely. It is in the American Southwest that the most extensive recovery of the Indian past has been made; and from the scientific writings dealing with this prehistoric period, America has gained a past, a beginning, and the matrix for an important type of literature.<sup>1</sup>

In 1879, Frank Cushing at the age of twenty-two years, accompanied the Powell archaeological expedition to New Mexico. At his own request he was left at the Indian pueblo of Zuñi, where he remained for six years, learning the language, becoming a member of the inner ceremonial group called the Priests-of-the-Bow. From this experience grew his studies of Zuñi creation myths and folk beliefs. It was not, however, until 1931 that his book, *Zuñi Folk Tales*, was published, an acknowledged classic in the treasury of American mythology.

In 1881, an Army surgeon came into the West and in connection with his medical work began the study of the habits and customs of the Navajo Indians. From this avocational

1. Henry Rowe Schoolcraft anticipated the cultural and literary outlook of the Southwestern anthropologists. As an Indian agent in Michigan from 1822 to 1841, he was a pioneer in the study of Indian myths and folktales. In his volumes on the Indian tribes of the United States he contributed important background material for such writers as Henry Wadsworth Longfellow and Margaret Fuller.

interest Dr. Washington Matthews carried on broader and deeper investigations into Navajo ceremonies, symbolism, legends and folktales. Much of his work is preserved in the Bureau of Ethnology Reports, but the American Folklore Society published *Navajo Legends* in 1897.

These men of science were not men of letters by initial training, but they became men of letters because of the irresistible pull of the imaginative material with which they were dealing. Their work in such scientific periodicals as the *Journal of American Folklore* and the publications of the Smithsonian Institution have supplied the folk-lore and culture history for innumerable popular books. Frequently the debt is acknowledged. Sometimes it is not; but those who browse in the massive tomes of text and drawing prepared by Jesse Fewkes, Alice Fletcher, Matilda Coxe Stevenson, Washington Matthews, recognize how much of the material in short stories and novels treating of Southwestern Indian life comes from these pioneer investigators. Publications by these early anthropologists describing the culture of Pueblo, Navajo, and Plains Indians began in the 1880's and '90's. Fifty years ago they laid the foundations for the best grounded literature upon the Indian written in America.

C. F. Lummis is one of the great names in early Southwestern writing that deals with archaeological sites, historic monuments, ethnology and sociology as these fields are susceptible of literary treatment. Lummis was a New Englander, who, like many other New Englanders, had the zeal of investigation and the flame of imagination kindled at Harvard. But he never graduated there, and after a year or two of newspaper work in Ohio pushed farther west on foot and on horseback. He lived at Isleta Pueblo from 1888 to 1892, married an Indian woman who bore him a daughter. From the prolific pen of Charles Lummis came *A New Mexico David* (1891), *The Land of Poco Tiempo* (1893), *Pueblo Indian Folk Tales* (1894) and eleven other books dealing with the nature of life in the Indian-Spanish Southwest. In 1915, Lummis was knighted by the King of Spain for his research in Spanish American history. The career of Lummis was crowned by the founding of the Southwest Museum in Los Angeles in 1907.

Adolph Bandelier, like Lummis, is difficult to classify as



archaeologist, historian, or ethnologist, because he was all three at one time or another, a man of broad interests, but no jack-of-all-trades. He was thorough-going in all that he did. In 1890, he and Charles F. Lummis discovered the ruins of Frijoles Canyon, now named the Bandelier National Monument. Earlier Bandelier had written on the social organization of ancient Mexico, and accounts of the archaeological wonders of that country. Proof of the imaginative grasp he had on the details of ancient life is his *Delight Makers* (1890), a novel dealing with the clan life of the Cliff Dwellers of Frijoles Canyon. Properly, this work belongs in Belles Lettres, where it will be discussed. Reference to it here is further evidence of the relationships between research and creative writing in this region to which the anthropologists so largely contributed.

Edgar Lee Hewett began his work in the Southwest as an educator in Greeley, Colorado, and Las Vegas, New Mexico. As a teacher first in literature of ancient Egypt and Greece, he felt a kinship to the living past of aboriginal life in the Southwest. Beginning his field work on the Pajarito Plateau in 1896, Dr. Hewett went on to explore other sites in this area including work at Chaco Canyon. A bibliography of his articles and books runs into more than two hundred titles covering notable scientific reports and observations upon the relationship of science to humanity. In several fine books Dr. Hewett has converted scientific lore into descriptions that make dead civilizations live. The most important of these works are *Ancient Life in the American Southwest* (1930), *Indians of the Rio Grande Valley* (1937), *Landmarks of New Mexico* (co-authored with Wayne L. Mauzy, 1940), *Mission Monuments of New Mexico* (co-authored with Reginald G. Fisher, 1943). His books *Ancient Life in Mexico and Central America* (1936) and *Ancient Indian Life* (1939), though not Southwestern works, are of interest to those who wish to trace the culture stream of Indian life through its various stages. Among the last words which Dr. Hewett wrote were these:

If archaeology had to do only with the rescue of dead things and their exhibition in museum halls, I could take little interest in it. But it is the science of things that live; that through the ages do not grow old; of things that disasters cannot kill; works of the spirit that, buried for millennia, rise again to new life and potency; the science which demon-

strates that in races that have survived from a far past, powers lie dormant which may be energized anew.<sup>2</sup>

So Edgar Lee Hewett justified his interest in the aesthetic and religious nature of the American Indian from whose harmonious social order he felt modern society might learn valuable lessons.

Archaeologists with whom Dr. Hewett was associated in these early days of anthropology of the Southwest were Lewis H. Morgan, John Wesley Powell, Daniel Brinton, Alice G. Fletcher, William H. Holmes, and J. Walter Fewkes. When the Committee for the Archaeological Institute of America selected Santa Fe for the home of the School of American Research, Dr. Hewett became its first Director. His service in this office began on January 1, 1907. For more than forty years this School in its association with the Museum of New Mexico has been a center for many of the scientific and creative activities connected with past and present culture in the Southwest.

Hartley Burr Alexander is of the same humanistic school in the study of archaeology and its related disciplines as Dr. Hewett. His work was concerned primarily with the aesthetic elements of the Indian dance, paintings and myth, and appeared between 1910 and 1927. *God's Drum and Other Cycles From Indian Lore* (1927) and *Pueblo Indian Painting* (1932) are his best known works.

Frederick Webb Hodge, who became curator of the Southwest Museum in Los Angeles in 1932, has written with authority upon many aspects of Southwestern social history. In articles for The American Antiquarian Society and for the *Masterkey* of the Southwestern Museum, Dr. Hodge has published on pueblo pottery, rites, and ceremonials. His *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico* (1907, 1910) is an invaluable reference work to the Indians of the Southwest. In greater detail he has written of the Zuñis, the Navajos, and the Apaches.

The younger school of anthropologists have more and more tended to convert materials of their research into articles for a wider reading public. They are men and women whose research is sound and who have in addition a gift for expres-

2. *El Palacio*, 54 (January, 1947), 3.

sion. In this group are such names as Gladys Reichard, Clyde Kluckhohn, Ruth M. Underhill, W. W. Hill, Florence Hawley, Emil Haury, Edward Spicer, and Harold S. Colton. Their work will be treated in the chapter of this book dealing with "Interpretation."

*El Palacio*, the magazine of the School of American Research in Santa Fe, has for thirty years presented articles on the varied aspects of the arts and sciences in the Southwest. The *Tree Ring Bulletin* of the Museum of Northern Arizona, the *Masterkey* of the Southwest Museum in Los Angeles, and the *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* of the University of New Mexico, now edited by Leslie Spier, are other magazines which publish well written articles by Southwestern anthropologists.

VI  
BELLES LETTRES  
POETRY

The belles lettres of a new frontier are likely to be inferior to the fact writing and folk tales: chronicles, archaeology, history, legend, and song. These belles lettres are usually imitative and thin, at best new wine in old bottles. And they are often imitative not of current literature of the older settlements but of the literature of the past generation. It is not until a transplanted culture, such as the Anglo-American in the Southwest, fuses with the life of the new region that a sophisticated and professional literature flowers, rooted in history, folk-lore, and the land itself.

The art poetry of the Southwest before 1880 is mostly romantic, frequently sentimental. Often it is finished in technique and musical. It is largely imitative of Byron, Shelley, and the early Tennyson among the English poets, and N. P. Willis, G. P. Morris, and Longfellow of the Americans.<sup>1</sup> The earliest Southwest poetry in English came from the Woodland section, Arkansas and East Texas, and was in the tradition of the lyric South. Southwest poetry even today is primarily lyric.

Albert Pike, pioneer, soldier, scholar, in 1834 published his *Prose Sketches and Poems, Written in the Western Country*. Four years later, when he sent "Hymns to the Gods" to *Blackwood's Magazine*, he was hailed by the crotchety Christopher North as "the coming poet of America." North added: "These fine hymns entitle their author to take his place in the highest order of his country's poets . . . His massive genius marks him to be a poet of the Titans."<sup>2</sup> In addition to highly literary verse, more neo-classic than romantic, Pike wrote a few very original poems of the Western land. "A Dirge: Over a Companion Killed by Comanches and Buried on the Prairie," is one of the best.

1. See "Introduction" to Sam H. Dixon, *The Poets and Poetry of Texas* (1885).
2. For a complete list of Pike's works see William L. Boyden, *Bibliography of the Writings of Albert Pike* (1921); for selections from his writings, see *Library of Southern Literature*.

In Texas<sup>3</sup> another soldier-statesman, Mirabeau B. Lamar, was the state's first poet.<sup>4</sup> His *Verse Memorials* (1857) shows him to be a facile romantic writer.<sup>5</sup> His best known poem, "The Daughter of Mendoza," written to a Spanish-American beauty was found after his death. It is one of the few poems of the early Southwest that employ a Spanish theme. R. M. Potter's *Ode to Texas*, translated from the Spanish, is another. Potter was also the author of a fine patriotic song, "Hymn of the Alamo." Lamar Fontaine, who had been secretary to Mirabeau Lamar as President of the Republic, claimed, and his claim appears well established, to have written the widely known Civil War poem, "All Quiet Along the Potomac."

The best known of the Civil War poets of the Southwest was Mollie E. Moore Davis, who wrote extensively in behalf of the South. "Lee at the Wilderness" and "Minding the Gap" are widely reprinted in collections. However, her poetry is less original, more sentimental and moralizing than her novels and stories.

During Civil War days Charles D. Poston, called "the Father of Arizona," was Superintendent of Indian Affairs of that territory. "Apache-Land," a long narrative poem, came out of this experience.<sup>6</sup> But with a few such scattered exceptions, poetry in the Southwest until the end of the century continued in the romantic, mild manner of the Old South. The cowboy and the hard-riding life of the plains were late in getting into Southwest art poetry.

The Bret Harte-Joaquin Miller<sup>7</sup> tradition of adventure in the "broad open spaces," with humor, often pathos, sometimes dialect, became the chief force in Southwest poetry in the 1890's and the early years of the new century. Much of this poetry has the flavor of the cowboy folk ballad. Larry Chittenden, a New Yorker, came to Texas as a newspaper correspondent in 1883, bought a ranch with fifty borrowed dollars, turned poet-ranchman. His *Ranch Verse* (1893) contains "The

3. For selections from early Texas poets see Sam H. Dixon, *The Poets and Poetry of Texas* (1885); also Hilton Ross Greer, *Voices of the Southwest* (1923).

4. Hugh Kerr's *A Poetical Description of Texas and Narrative of Many Interesting Events*, etc. (1838), said to be the first book of poems produced in the state, is little more than doggerel.

5. See Philip Graham, *Life and Poems of Mirabeau B. Lamar* (1937).

6. See Mary Boyer, *Arizona in Literature* (1934), pp. 261 ff.

7. Note Miller's *Kit Carson's Ride* (1871).

Cowboy's Christmas Ball," "The Ranchman's Ride," "The Dying Scout," and others of perennial popularity. Frank Desprez's "Lasca" was declaimed with gusto by school boys; newspapers copied Arthur Chapman's "Out Where the West Begins."

John Rollins Ridge (1827-1867), a quarter-breed Cherokee, was in the Southwest for a time. He wrote in the romantic, Byronic vein.<sup>8</sup> Alexander Posey, an educated Creek Indian of Oklahoma, in the early 1900's wrote, in an English-Indian dialect, satirical poems purporting to be conversations between Wolf Warrior, Hotgun, Kono Hayo, and Tookpofko Micco about the treatment the Indians got from the white men. They were widely reprinted.<sup>9</sup> Marquis James in *The Cherokee Strip* (1945) says, "Posey's imagery was altogether Indian; every sound of nature was music to his ears. . . . No other Oklahoman has written anything so worthy of preservation." His early tragic death was a great loss to Southwest literature.

Sharlot Hall, bred in Arizona, published *Cactus and Pine* (1910), a volume of swift moving, straight shooting narrative poems. Robert V. Carr published *Cowboy Lyrics* (1912) largely sentimental, but with touches of realism. Yet he is always writing from the viewpoint of an outsider.

Badger Clark, in *Sun and Saddle Leather* (1915), wrote in dialect with an attempt to reveal the psychology of the cowboy and not merely his outward life. Author of *High Chin Bob*, he wrote, too, of the land itself, desert, plains and sky.

These two currents in Southwest poetry—the romantic lyric stream—poems of nature, religion, patriotism—and the bolder, more narrative, objective poetry that we think of as Western—have persisted into the present.

## FICTION

The fiction of the Southwest before the Civil War belongs to the Scott-Cooper tradition. It abounds in picturesque descriptions, heroic deeds, type characters, and a plot dependent largely on coincidence. A number of these novels were written, in fact, while Scott was yet alive. *L'Heroine du Texas* by M.

8. See Maurice Kelley's article in *Folk Say*, II, 396 ff.

9. *The Poems of Alexander Lawrence Posey*, collected and arranged by Mrs. Minnie H. Posey. With a Memoir by William Elsey Connelley (1910).

G——n F——n was published in Paris in 1819 but translated into English only in recent years.<sup>1</sup> Timothy Flint, a Congregational missionary in the West in 1826, wrote a romantic novel that touches on Texas, *Francis Berrien or the Mexican Patriot*. About Arkansas and New Mexico, Albert Pike, better known for his poetry than prose, was writing narrative sketches, published in *Prose Sketches and Poems* (1834). A. T. Myrthe, probably a pen name for Anthony Ganilk, claimed that his story of the Texas War for Independence, *Mexico Versus Texas* (1838), was the first Texian novel. It is quite likely that he did not know of *L'Heroine du Texas*. These early writers of fiction were not above borrowing from the records of real adventurers. George Kendall complained that Captain Frederick Marryat had "stolen" from his "series of rough sketches in the *New Orleans Picayune*" for the *Narratives of Travel and Adventures of Monsieur Violet in California, Sonora and Western Texas* (1843).<sup>2</sup> Karl Postl,<sup>3</sup> who, in America after his break with a religious order in his native Austria, used the name of Charles Sealsfield, wrote to a thesis in his *Cabin Book; or National Characteristics* (1844).<sup>4</sup> He saw the frontier as a place where bold men, even bad men, could redeem their misdeeds by heroic adventures, sometimes by death for a cause. The hero of the *Cabin Book*, Bob, a rough fellow who had killed a man, dies a hero's death at San Jacinto. Edward Morse, the narrator, after exploits in Texas, where he knew Bob, ends his career amid the beauties of nature in a cabin in Louisiana. Karl Postl wrote a number of other novels in both English and German and came to be known as the "Writer of Two Hemispheres."<sup>5</sup>

In the later forties and fifties there were dozens of novels and books of short stories, many of the nature of juveniles, recounting the exploits of guides, hunters, rangers, and desper-

1. See translation by Donald Joseph in *The Story of Champ d'Asile* (1937). For a useful discussion of early Texas fiction, see L. W. Payne, Jr., *A Survey of Texas Literature* (1928), pp. 10-17.
2. See Preface to *Narrative of an Expedition Across the Great Southwestern Prairies from Texas to Santa Fe* (1844).
3. See Selman M. Raunick, "A Survey of German Literature in Texas," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, XXX, 142-144.
4. Written in German under the title *Das Kajutenbuch oder National Charakteristiken*. Translated into English and published in London in 1852.
5. Another early Southwestern novelist who wrote in German was A. Siemerling. *The Hermit of the Cavern* (1876) was first translated into English in 1932.

adoes of this new frontier. Charles Wilkins Webber, at one time a ranger, wrote *Old Hicks the Guide* (1848), *The Hunter Naturalist* (1851), *Tales of the Southern Border* (1853); Alfred W. Arrington (Charles Summerfield), *Desperadoes of the Southwest* (1849), and *The Rangers and Regulators of Tanaha . . . a Tale of the Republic of Texas* (1857); Gustave Aimard (Oliver Gloux), *The Trappers of Arkansas* (1858) set in Arkansas and Eastern Oklahoma, and *The Freebooters, a Story of the Texas War* (c. 1860). Jeremiah R. Clemens in his novel, *Mustang Gray* (1857), is said to have narrated Mabry Gray's exploits "on the short side rather than the long side of facts."<sup>6</sup> Clemens, like Gray, had fought in the Mexican War and knew the scenes and situations about which he wrote. Captain Mayne Reid alone wrote almost a dozen novels of Southwestern adventures. His books, while not significant as literature, were widely read and important in forming the concept of the Southwest in the East and in Europe.

The love motif was of minor importance in these early man-written novels. The main conflicts were of man against man, and man against nature. One of the few romantic love stories was *Inez, A Tale of the Alamo* (1855) by Augusta E. Wilson. Set in San Antonio, the complicated plot, strongly anti-Catholic, develops against the backdrop of the Texas War for Independence. It belongs to the line of sentimental fiction of the "weeping fifties."<sup>7</sup> A somewhat later and much superior example of the romantic historic novel with the Alamo as background is Amelia Barr's *Remember the Alamo* (c. 1888). Yet this is still pure romance with little real relation to Texas life.

After the Civil War, arose the local color movement in American fiction (c. 1870-1900). Scenes were definitely recognizable, costumes and dialect of a specific locale were faithfully reported, and characters and plot fitted the setting. Writing was objective and usually "smiling." Sentiment was all pervasive except with the very best men, Mark Twain and Howells and James; yet the tendency was toward realism. The Old South was a favorite section for fiction. As a consequence, in Arkansas and East Texas, where the Woodland culture had

6. See J. Frank Dobie, "Mustang Gray: Fact, Tradition and Song," *Publications of the Texas Folk-Lore Society*, X, 108-123.

7. See Carl Van Doren, *The American Novel* (1921), p. 125.



been transplanted, local color fiction first developed in the Southwest. Short stories became popular.

In Arkansas in the eighties and nineties Alice French (Octave Thanet), Ruth McEnery Stuart, and Opie Read were writing local color stories. Alice French, a Middle Western woman, who lived for a time in Arkansas, showed a good deal of realism in *Knitters in the Sun* (1891) and *Stories of a Western Town* (1892). More sentimental are the stories of Ruth McEnery Stuart, *In Simpkinsville* (1899). Opie Read in *An Arkansas Planter* (1896) wrote in the Southern plantation tradition.

Mollie E. Moore Davis is the most significant of these post War writers in the Old South local color manner. Her sketches titled *In War-times at La Rose Blanche* (1888) are written with emphasis on character delineation and dialect. Like the stories of Thomas Nelson Page, they mix humor, pathos, and tenderness. Of even more merit is the novel *Under the Man-fig* (1895). Set in Columbia, Texas, on the Brazos from about 1857 to 1872, the story, rather improbable in itself, makes admirable use of the legend of the man-fig tree. Non-partisan, save for a tender regard for the South, there is a detachment from all of the great events and an almost realistic concern with the details of average daily life. It is more rooted than any preceding novel of Southwestern life.

Belles lettres of the far Southwest are represented by such titles as *A Fortune Hunter; or The Old Stone Corral* (1888) by John Dunloe Corteret, which announces itself further in a second title, "A Tale of the Santa Fé Trail." The book treats of the lost treasure of "Montezuma," a web of mystery, the course of true love, and the cattle king's daughter. Newspapers in New Mexico and Arizona during the second half of the nineteenth century printed stories from papers farther east with such titles as: "The Eton Boy," "A Coon Hunt in Fancy County," and "Duty and Kindness," which treats of the efforts of Deacon Browning to reform his prodigal boy.<sup>8</sup> An extraordinary saint's tale called "La Cambioda" appeared in a New Mexico paper in 1863, written by someone who signed himself An Obscure Author. It concerns a devil-may-care Juan, saved from his riotous living by the intervention of St. Francis, who

8. Albuquerque: *Rio Abajo Press*, April 21, 1863.

transforms Juan's sister into the likeness of a man and allows her to go to El Paso to rescue him.<sup>9</sup> Though the setting is local, the time is placed in the previous century. Of contemporary life little was written of belles lettres quality.

In 1878 General Lew Wallace came to New Mexico as governor of the Territory. In the Old Palace at Santa Fe he wrote the final chapters of his classic, *Ben Hur* (1880). The book treats of a distant soil and a distant time, and illustrates, as well as any other work, the cultural expatriation of writers at this time in the Southwest. A few years before General Wallace came to New Mexico, he embarked on his admirable literary work *The Fair God* (1873), selecting the soil and tradition of Mexico for this notable historical romance. *The Fair God* deserves attention as one of the earliest American novels to consider aboriginal life on the continent. It treats of life in the plateau of Mexico at the time of the Spanish conquest.

One of the earliest, if not the first, novels of aboriginal life in the area now of the United States is Adolphe Bandelier's *The Delight Makers* (1890). Written by a Swiss schoolmaster, turned investigator for the Smithsonian Institution of Washington, *The Delight Makers* will remain without rival among the nineteenth century creative works dealing with the American Indian. Bandelier lived among the Southwestern Indians whose prehistory he recreated in his novel. Using the location of the cliff dwellings in Frijoles Canyon, now the Bandelier National Monument, he brought to life events which, with more than ordinary historical illusion, could have occurred in America's medieval past. Bandelier's novel was prophetic of a literary appreciation for the Southwest scene which was to grow among writers and to flower some twenty-five years later.

In the first quarter of the new century Marah Ellis Ryan, a prolific writer, published a number of novels about the Southwest. The most significant of these is *The Flute of the Gods* (1909), a story dealing with the Hopi people of Arizona. Her books of Indian life were written, like Bandelier's work, to introduce American readers to the true cultural values among the earliest citizens of this land. These values have lasted,

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9. *Ibid.*

with the ceremonies which objectify them, until the present day. "Only the death of the elders and the breaking up of the clans can eradicate them," writes Mrs. Ryan. "When that is done, the Latin and the Anglo-Saxon will have swept from the heart of the land, primitive, conservative cults ancient as the Druids."<sup>10</sup> Among her other novels of the Southwest are *For the Soul of Rafael* (1906) and *The Treasure Trove* (1918). *The Dancer of Tulum* (1924) is a story of ancient Yucatan. Marah Ellis Ryan like most writers of fiction in the Southwest before 1918 was prevailingly romantic, yet with others she points the way to a fuller understanding of the land and the peoples.

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10. "Preface" to *The Flute of the Gods*, VI.

## VII

### NARRATIVES OF THE CATTLE COUNTRY

The most original stories that the Southwest has told have come from the cattle country. The half century after the Civil War, that saw the cattle industry rise to power on the open range, before barbed wire and settlers closed in on it, was a unique episode in American history, one not likely to be repeated.<sup>1</sup> The English-speaking cowboy learned quickly from the *vaquero* how to herd cattle on horseback and, with characteristic audacity, evolved the long drive to market across the plains. His costume, picturesque to the rest of the world, is practical for hard riding. His language, his brands, his songs, his amusements are as natural to him as a sailor's lingo and rolling walk.<sup>2</sup> His tales of adventure are simply the high points of his routine life — sometimes thrilling exploits, sometimes ludicrous mishaps, sometimes tributes to the loyalty of comrades.

The first of the cowboy tale tellers was Charlie Siringo, a native Texan, who rode the range for nearly half a century after 1867. In 1886 he decided to turn author and produced a history of his own "short but rugged life" titled *A Texas Cowboy*.<sup>3</sup> His book, which circulated widely among plain readers at the time, was overlooked by literary circles; but now, rewritten, it is recognized as an early authority. Its value lies not in literary grace, to which it makes no claim, but in sincerity and first-hand information.<sup>4</sup>

By the turn of the century the cowboy had ridden into liter-

1. See Walter P. Webb, *The Great Plains* (1931), Ch. X; *Prose and Poetry of the Live Stock Industry of the United States* (1904, 1905); Douglas Branch, *The Cowboy and His Interpreters* (1926).
2. Ramon Adams, *Cowboy Lingo* (1936); *Western Words* (1944).
3. *A Texas Cowboy*; or, *Fifteen Years on the Hurricane Deck of a Spanish Pony. Taken from Real Life*. By Chas. A. Siringo, an Old Stove Up "Cow Puncher," *Who Has Spent Nearly Twenty Years on the Great Western Cattle Ranges* (1886). See also his *The Lone Star Cowboy* (1919), and *Riata and Spurs* (1912, 1927). Will Rogers once said that *A Texas Cowboy* was "the Cowboys' Bible when I was growing up."
4. *The Trail Drivers of Texas* (1924) contains some 200 sketches of reminiscences by old timers who rode the trail. Many volumes of such tales have appeared since Siringo's in 1886.

ature in Charles Hoyt's successful drama, *A Texas Steer* (1890), and Owen Wister's *Red Men and White* (1896) and *The Virginian* (1902). But whereas Wister and Hoyt were tenderfeet spinning literary plots of the range, a real cowboy wrote *The Log of a Cowboy* (1903), the best of all the realistic tales of the range. Andy Adams was typical of thousands of cowhands. An Indiana farm boy of good stock, he came to Texas in 1882, drove horses and cattle, rode the trail to Abilene, made some money and lost it in business, then drifted to Colorado to try mining and finally writing. The *Log* is a plain chronicle, unplotted and accurate in technical details, of a young fellow's experiences on a long drive. It deserves comparison with tales of sea life such as Richard Henry Dana's *Two Years Before the Mast* (1840). Adam's first book was so well received that its author continued writing stories of the West for the rest of his life, undaunted by the fact that no later book of his ever approached *The Log of a Cowboy* in popularity. The fiction of Andy Adams reveals the strength and weakness of range life. It is vigorous, full of action and suspense, vivid, and convincing; it is also purely objective, emphasizing material prosperity and success, and it faithfully excludes women and the love motif.

To outsiders life on the cattle range has always seemed romantic, that is, exciting, glamorous, different from ordinary farm or urban existence. In a measure, this opinion is true; but most of the professional writers of western romance have erred in at least two ways in their portrayals. First, they have selected a few of the most thrilling, "different" phases of ranch life, such as the cattle thieves, the stranger cowhand, the round-up, the drive to market, and combined them over and over in set formulas. In the next place, they have brought in the ready-made "cowboy meets girl" plot and overworked it. Nevertheless, romantic tales of the cattle country, from the best type to the "pulp," have been continuously popular for more than a quarter of a century; today every news stand carries a dozen or more magazines devoted to the deeds of the cowboy hero.<sup>5</sup>

5. See Edmund Pearson, *Dime Novels* (1929) for the literary ancestors of the current "westerns." Also Webb, *op. cit.*, for a discussion of western magazines. Among the better known of the numerous writers of popular books of the range are: Robert Ames Bennet, Hal. G. Evarts, Jackson Gregory, Oscar J. Friend, W. D. Hoffman, Clarence E. Mulford, Edwin L. Sabin, William P. White.

The moving pictures have nowhere found more thrilling material than in romantic "westerns." Hollywood has made the settings more elaborately real than in the published versions, but the movie plots are even more sentimental and conventional.

From a literary point of view nine-tenths of these range romances are negligible because of their stereotyped style, unconvincing characters, and exaggerated plots; but it is a mistake to think that all adventure stories of the region are poor literature. Good fictional treatments of life in the cattle country, with complicated plots and an emphasis on thrilling experiences, are fairly numerous, although it must be added that they are best when they are tied close to realism with a short stake-rope. For several decades a few excellent craftsmen, who have themselves rounded up the dogies, have published western novels and stories. In the Southwest Alfred Henry Lewis pioneered with his *Wolfville* (1897), episodes in the life of an Arizona cowtown. O. Henry experienced Texas ranch life near San Antonio, and utilized it in some of his best writing. *The Heart of the West* (1907) contains many of his Southwestern tales. O. Henry owed much to the Bret Harte tradition, as do most of the adventure writers of the cattle country, especially the combining of picturesque setting, frontier humor, exaggerated character types, and theatrical plot.

One of the best of the romantic western novels was also one of the earliest, Emerson Hough's *Heart's Desire* (1903). Soon after completing his college study in Iowa, Hough came to White Oaks, New Mexico, to practice law. He must have given more time to sharing the life of a little Western town than to law, if the portraits of the old-fashioned cowboy, the Jewish storekeeper, the young Georgia cowboy with a drawl, the girls west of the Pecos who always came from Kansas along with the butter and hay, and the wandering osteopath whose only patient was a cross-eyed horse, are evidence of his affection for the community. "Your Anglo-Saxon, craving ever savagery, has no sooner found it than he seeks to civilize it; there being for him in his aeon of the world no real content or peace," Hough remarks in this novel. His *North of 36* (1923) deserves its popularity, on the screen as well as in story form, for its vigorous portrayal of an epic theme, the early trail drive

from South Texas to the railroad. Readers who prefer unvarnished tales like those of Andy Adams may object to a drive that took along a young heroine with her Negro mammy and considerable luggage, but the general public has approved Hough's romance. Stewart Edward White's *Arizona Nights* (1904) is a volume of stories true to the cattle kingdom. "The Rawhide" is one of the classics of early Western range fiction.

Probably the most significant of the realistic romancers of the plains was Eugene Manlove Rhodes, prolific and successful author for more than a quarter of a century. As a young man, Rhodes rode the range in New Mexico; then he moved to the East, married, settled down, and began to write his western stories, finding publication in the better popular magazines. Later he bought a ranch in the San Andrés Mountains but his health compelled him to spend the last years of his life in California. "New Mexico's incurable romantic," as Gene Rhodes has been called, loved the old West, and maintained to the end that highly civilized society could offer no full compensation for the loss of "the arms that mocked at weariness, the feet that trod on fear."

Rhodes was widely read and esteemed highly his profession as a novelist. "He wrote a story in his mind, from beginning to end," says Henry Herbert Knibbs, "before he even put a word on paper. . . . Often he has told me, word for word (as the printed story eventually proved), a yarn he contemplated writing, even including gestures, postures, attitudes, dialogue, and background."<sup>6</sup> This preparation doubtless accounts for the intricate plots and carefully shaded characters of his novels.

Eugene Manlove Rhodes's best known story is *Pasó Por Aquí* which tells of a cowboy-bandit who stops to aid a Mexican family stricken with diphtheria. When the sheriff sent in pursuit of him learns of the man's humanity, he discovers that his crime looms less important in the eyes of the law, and allows the cowboy to make his way free out of the region. The story appears in the book *Once in the Saddle* (1927).

Other worthwhile stories by Rhodes are *Good Men and True* (1911), *Desire of the Moth* (1916), *Trusty Knaves*

6. Henry Herbert Knibbs, Introduction to Eugene Manlove Rhodes, *The Proud Sheriff* (1935), p. vii. See also Eddy Orcutt, "Passed by Here. A Memorial to Gene Rhodes," *Saturday Evening Post*, Aug. 20, 1938.

(1933), and *Beyond the Desert* (1934). Rhodes was faithful to the facts of the early days in New Mexico, so much so that a governor of the state once declared "that certain characters have threatened to shoot him on sight." He avoided excessive love interest and likewise glamorous bad men, believing that they were not typical of the cattle country. He found his frontier good—better than life elsewhere. "What I remember is generosity, laughter, courage, and kindness," he has written. Since his death in 1934, recognition of Eugene Manlove Rhodes has been increasing. Such critics as Bernard De Voto,<sup>7</sup> and such writers of western fiction as Knibbs agree in declaring his novels "the finest ever written about that strange and violent and beautiful era in American life, the years of the cattle trade."

Omar Barker, Westmoreland Gray, H. H. Knibbs, Eugene Cunningham, Owen P. White, William McLeod Raine, and many others write excellent romances, short and long, of love and adventure against the background of ranch life. There is also an enormous body of short fiction in the popular periodicals or "pulp" devoted to western themes. While these last stories are usually superficial, many competent writers add to their incomes by supplying the insatiable demand of the public for cowboy tales.

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7. Editorial, *Saturday Review of Literature*, October 17, 1936. J. Frank Dobie has written an appraisal of Rhodes' wit, vivacity, and idealism as "Introduction" to *The Little World Waddies*, a collection of Rhodes' stories and poems, arranged by William Hutchinson of Cohasset Stage, Chico, California, and printed by Carl Hertzog of El Paso, Texas (1946).





PART THREE

LITERATURE OF THE CONTEMPORARY  
SCENE, c. 1918—



## HISTORY AND INTERPRETATION

IT IS NOT possible to divide historical writings in the Southwest into two distinct periods, to say that before 1918 the past was recorded in one way and after 1918 in another. One of the most fascinating phases of our study is the way in which all the types of writing of a pioneer civilization in the various stages of development are present here today. In the literature of the Southwest early materials and techniques are counterpointed against works which belong to contemporary trends of our national letters. This is certainly true of historical writing.

After the chronicles and formal state histories, which we have already considered, came more earnest collecting of documents, journals, letters in English and other languages, state papers and other records of the past. Simultaneously, collections were made of belles lettres and scholarly sources in other languages, and likewise of historical objects, such as branding irons, portraits, costumes, furniture.<sup>1</sup> By the end of the nineteenth century the task of making these rare and important documents available to the public began to attract the attention of scholars in the Southwest. An early labor was performed by Adolph and Fanny Bandelier in translating the *Journey of Cabeza de Vaca* in 1905. Eugene C. Barker laid the foundations for much early Texas history as well as for his own biography of Stephen F. Austin by editing the *Papers of Moses and Stephen F. Austin*. R. E. Twitchell's *The Spanish Archives of New Mexico* (1914), and H. E. Bolton's *Spanish Explora-*

1. Some of the chief collections of Southwestern historical documents are: Texas State Library, University of Texas Library, Rosenberg Library of Galveston, Oklahoma Historical Society Collection, University of Oklahoma Library, University of Arkansas Library, Coronado and Van de Velde Collections of University of New Mexico.

Among the private collectors of Southwestern books have been E. DeGolyer, Dr. Alexander Dienst, J. Frank Dobie, J. Marvin Hunter, Charles J. Finger, Howard Roosa, W. A. Keleher, Clinton Anderson, Luis Armijo, F. C. Lockwood. Herman Schweizer, of the Fred Harvey Company, was an expert upon Southwestern art objects and made a private collection of unusual interest and value.

Typical of the collections of world literatures are the Browning Collection of Baylor University, and the Wrenn Library of the University of Texas.

*tion in the Southwest, 1542-1706* (1916) contain many early sources. The Quivira Society was organized in 1929 with George P. Hammond as managing editor for the translating, editing, and publishing of old and inaccessible Spanish and other records. From 1929 until 1942 a series of volumes were published first at the University of Southern California and later at the University of New Mexico, with Agapito Rey, Margaret Eyer Wilbur, Irving A. Leonard, Frederick Webb Hodge, Fritz Leo Hoffman, Carlos Eduardo Castañeda, Henry R. Wagner, H. Bailey Carroll, J. Villasana Haggard and George P. Hammond as editors. In 1940, Dr. Hammond began the editing of the Coronado Historical Series, a group of twelve volumes presented by the Coronado Cuarto Centennial Commission as part of the celebration to commemorate the Spanish exploration of the entire Southwest. Six of these volumes have been published, and the others will appear under the sponsorship of the University of New Mexico Historical Publications Fund. France V. Scholes, who became Dean of the Graduate School at the University of New Mexico in 1946, has worked upon archival materials in Spain and Central America as a staff member of the Carnegie Institution since 1931. Dean Scholes has done much to fill the gaps in seventeenth century Southwestern history, especially relating to the activities of the Inquisition in New Mexico.

A. B. Thomas, a younger scholar working under the guidance of Bolton, Dale, and others, has translated and amply edited the original papers of an eighteenth century governor of New Mexico. "Stanley Vestal" (Professor Walter S. Campbell of the University of Oklahoma) has blazed his own trail in source material for studies in the Plains Indians by collecting not only many published and unpublished documents but by working out a technique for recording oral narrations of events delivered by trustworthy Indians.<sup>2</sup> Other vast resources of untouched materials in Government files in Washington, D. C., relating to the Indians, especially the Five Civilized Tribes, have been tapped by Grant Foreman. His *Indians and Pioneers, The Story of the American Southwest Before 1830* (1930), *Indian Removals* (1932), and *The Five*

2. See his *New Sources of Indian History* (1934), Prefatory Note, Part II, pp. 121-30.

*Civilized Tribes* (1934), for example, utilize the old files of many offices of the United States War Department as well as those in the departments of State, the Interior, and the Post Office.<sup>3</sup> Angie Debo in *The Rise and Fall of the Choctaw Republic* (1934), and Marion L. Starkey in *The Cherokee Nation* (1946) likewise have made use of official records in preparing scholarly and highly readable histories. Mary J. Atkinson's *Texas Indians* (1936), a book of sound research, is the most comprehensive treatment of the many tribes that once inhabited the vast state. Alice Marriott in *The Ten Grandmothers* (1945) has combined painstaking research with certain of the techniques of the novelist in presenting the tribal history of the Kiowas in the story of sacred medicine bundles handed down from the past.

Out of this careful modern research have come at least two excellent recent state histories, Grant Foreman's *A History of Oklahoma* (1942) and T. N. Richardson's *Texas, The Lone Star State* (1943). *Pioneer Days in Arizona* (1932), by Frank C. Lockwood, while not covering the entire span of history of a state, narrates in an orderly and graphic way the chief incidents that took place in Arizona from the coming of the Spaniards in 1539 to the achievement of Statehood in 1912.

Three periods of Texas history have received careful study. Julia Kathryn Garrett in *Green Flag Over Texas* (1939) writes of the establishment of the almost forgotten and short lived First Republic of 1813. William Ransom Hogan in *The Texas Republic, A Social and Economic History* (1946) recreates Texas between 1836 and 1845. He sees life dominated by robust individualism in politics, religion, entertainment, and money-making. Twenty-seven pages of bibliography in fine print attest to the scholarship behind this portrait of frontier life. Lt. Colonel James Farber in *Texas C. S. A.* (1947), from a military point of view, records the important part that Texas played in the War between the States.

In many instances, however, recent historical writing in the Southwest adds the exemplification of a theme or even a thesis to this scholarly use of first hand sources and excellent literary style. The search in past records for some law, some pattern, is the achievement of historical scholarship of the last half

3. See *Indians and Pioneers* (1930), Bibliography, pp. 315-27.

century under the tutelage of science. Henry Adams and others led the way in America. Today some of the most fruitful re-interpretation of the American past is emanating from the Southwest.

A notable example is Walter P. Webb's *The Great Plains* (1931), which makes clear to the general reader as well as to the student the unity and uniqueness of that area, more or less arid, treeless, and level, which is the Great Plains of the North American continent. Most vividly Webb shows how living in this area is conditioned by physical environment—in short, "what happened in American civilization when in its westward progress it emerged from the woods and essayed life on the plains . . . east of the Mississippi civilization stood on three legs—land, water, and timber; west of the Mississippi not one but two of these legs were withdrawn—water and timber—and civilization was left on one leg—land." As a social scientist, the author expands history to include geography, economics, sociology, literary criticism; and in his wide survey of the Plains environment he not only finds it a geographic unity but contends that it has produced "a new phase of Aryan civilization." *The Texas Rangers* (1935) relates the history of this unique organization to frontier life and needs. *Divided We Stand* (1937) is written to the thesis of the economic exploitation of the South and West by the North and East.

Two books written in 1930 represent special studies of peoples of the past in terms of social movements rather than the political histories of territories and states. *The Santa Fe Trail* by R. L. Duffus is a picturesque narrative in terms of human values, enriched with details from contemporary diaries. We rock with the wagons on the trail and enter old Santa Fe, brushing the dust from our clothes and staring wide-eyed at the Mexican men in their bright *serapes*. Accuracy and a good bibliography do not hinder the colorful style of this book. The "Recessional" with which it closes is a poetic farewell to the Trail. "The Trail was but a single thread in that vast roaring loom on which was woven the fabric of modern America. Yet there it shines, if we bend to look, like a pattern of untarnishable gold." W. C. Holden's *Alkali Trails* is a presentation of economic and social problems without a narrative thread or picturesque coloring. Some of the chapter headings indicate

the trend: The Buffalo Slaughter, The Cattle Kingdom, Frontier Journalism, Drouths, Mirages.

Stanley Vestal in *The Old Santa Fe Trail* (1939) employs the techniques of the novelist to make live again the most exciting events along the thousand miles from Westport to Santa Fe. For these tales he drew on Gregg, Ruxton, Garrard, and the memories of still living old-timers. He threads them on the journey of a mythical caravan. Stanley Vestal sees in the adventures along the Trail, with all of the tragedies, a better and larger life than the present offers.

Following in the wake of these re-creators of the days of the covered wagons and cattle trails, James Marshall writes of the iron trail in *Santa Fe, The Railroad that Built an Empire* (1945). His is the viewpoint and style of the modern journalist.

Among the early surveys of great ranches and the part these single units played in the history of the Southwest are *The XIT Ranch of Texas* (1929), by Evetts Haley, and *The 101 Ranch* (1927), by Ellsworth Collings and Alma Miller England. Like empires in themselves (the XIT Ranch covered a large part of the Panhandle of Texas), these establishments had an administration that included governing, judicial, banking, and overall supply functions. W. F. Keleher has written a similar study in his *Maxwell Land Grant* (1942), devoted to the political and economic fortunes during the nineteenth century of an area covering 1,714,764 acres of land in northern New Mexico and Southern Colorado.

Although J. Frank Dobie's *The Longhorns* (1941) is not the study of one ranch, it treats of all of Central, South and West Texas in terms of one great ranch where the cow camps and cow towns were outposts to produce and market a breed of cattle as rugged, sagacious, and individualistic as any range land ever produced. Winifred Kupper's *The Golden Hoof* (1945) does for the sheep industry in the Southwest what these writers have done for the world of cattle—dignified its traditions, traced its growth, described its feuds and warfare, presented its folklore and personal history along with the political and economic story.

A little more flexibility in defining history will permit the inclusion of a typical Southwestern study by Paul B. Sears,



*Deserts on the March* (1935), which has been aptly termed "at once an historical survey, a scientific exposition—and a warning." Impersonally, from the point of view of the ecologist, Sears tells the story, not of certain men, but of man on the North American continent struggling with soil and wind and rain.

*Heaven's Tableland* (1947) by Vance Johnson records the history of the Dust Bowl of Oklahoma and Texas from the thirteenth century to the present; from an early irrigation system of vanished Indians through the days of the buffalo, the era of ranching, back to farming. The book is at once a record of periods of drouth and plentiful rainfall and a warning to present day wheat farmers.

Interpretation from the pen of the scientist or historian in search of new patterns and laws is one thing; from the pen of an artist seeking to express himself in terms of beauty, or a philosopher striving to find a *modus vivendi*, it is another form of literature. One of the most interesting types of writing being produced today in the Southwest is the historical-descriptive interpretation by sensitive men and women who seek to record their personal impressions of the land, the peoples on it, its history. This sort of book comes most often from New Mexico and Arizona, which have in late years captured the imagination of many artists, from Mary Austin to J. B. Priestley, and compelled them, as it were, to pay tribute to the land.

These interpretations, as we shall loosely apply the term, cannot be neatly defined; for they represent highly personal impressions. On the whole, however, they emphasize one or more of these themes: the pageant of the past, especially of the primitive dwellers; the customs of the present dwellers; or the land, beautiful and harsh, and its power over those who dwell on it. The author nearly always reveals an individualist point of view, often frankly relating a narrative of his own experiences. The stuff of his book is his impressions. No matter if he is repeating experiences long familiar to others if he can only tell them vividly. Vividness of experience and beauty of style, these are hallmarks of the type; but the deepest significance lies in the philosophy of the author. So, in Mary Austin's *The Land of Little Rain* (1903) a certain chapter on scavengers may seem to deal only with three kinds of buzzards, but

it is essentially an expression of her reverence for the endless processes of nature.

It is hard to indicate any dividing line between history proper and what we have called historical-descriptive interpretation; but the difference is apparent to a thoughtful reader. Thus the earliest work of the great observer and student of Indian life, Charles F. Lummis, such as *Spanish Pioneers* (1893), belongs to conventional history. But many of his later works—*The Land of Poco Tiempo* (1921) and *Mesa, Canyon and Pueblo* (1925)—belong to the contemporary group of interpretations. From his own point of view as a white man deeply sympathetic with the Indian but never primitivistic, Lummis describes the land, the customs, the occupations of the Southwestern Indians in a style so readable that his books have been a large factor in acquainting the general public with the region. In a more formal style George Wharton James has done much the same thing for Arizona and New Mexico in *Indians of the Painted Desert Region* (1903), *Arizona, the Wonderland* (1917), and other volumes. More informal, on the other hand, even than Lummis is Leo Crane's *Desert Drums* (1928), a book of personal experiences as Indian Agent for the New Mexico Pueblos, in which much history is interwoven.

The pageant of the past appears in many of these historical-descriptive interpretations, but a clear example of the emphasis on interpretation is Harvey Fergusson's *Rio Grande* (1933), a superbly written exposition of his theory that the upper valley of the Rio Grande is the best locale in America to study the primitive and the modern side by side. In this valley which is so peculiarly resistant to change and where only the few large towns fully know the "modern life of money and machines," Fergusson reads a significant story, one that "has more than local significance. It describes the aboriginal America, which is typical of all primitive life. It recounts the last thrust of religious empire on this continent and the decay of a lost and isolated fragment of the world. It pictures the modern man in the sharp contrast of conflict with these older cultures, first as a fighting hunter, then as a trader and explorer and finally as the master and slave of his machines." At the end of his survey of past and present, the author, a native of New Mexico, can declare: "I say no more of New Mexico as it is

today, except that here surely is a place where many kinds of men live and work, where one may dig or dream, make poems, bricks, or love, or merely sit in the sun, and find some tolerance and some companionship. Here handicraft as well as the machine has some place in life, the primitive persists beside the civilized, the changeless mountains offer refuge to the weary sons of change."

Other interpretations using the same materials in part are Ruth Laughlin Alexander's *Caballeros* (1931), a vivid re-creation of the Spanish conquerors; D. J. Hall's *Enchanted Sand* (1933), a romantic pilgrimage through Indian country; Anna Wilmarth Ickes' *Mesa Land* (1933), devoted to the Pueblo and Navajo world; Blanch C. Grant's *When Old Trails Were New* (1934), the story of the mountain men and Taos country; Mabel Dodge Luhan's *Winter in Taos* (1935), a picture of the season and its tasks and pleasures; Dorothy Hogner's *South to Padre* (1936), describing the life of the present and past along the Gulf shore of Texas; Nina Otero Warren's *Old Spain in Our Southwest* (1936), recapturing the charm of colonial New Mexico.

The nation-wide interest in an interpretation of the land and peoples of the Southwest is attested to by four highly readable volumes in the American Folkways series: Edwin Corle's *Desert Country* (1941), Haniel Long's *Piñon Country* (1941), Stanley Vestal's *Short Grass Country* (1941), and Donald Day's *Big Country Texas* (1947).<sup>4</sup> In these volumes history, geography, folktales, and folkways are combined to produce books both informative and entertaining. George Session Perry in *Texas a World in Itself* (1942) employs the same materials with equal success. His concern is more with the present than with the past. Edwin Corle's *Listen, Bright Angel* (1946) takes its title from a famous trail of the Grand Canyon of the Colorado. The book combines geology, description, and stories of explorations of the Canyon, with special details of the trips by the Kolb brothers.

Two books that treat altogether of folkways are Erna Fergusson's *Dancing Gods* (1931) and Alice Corbin Henderson's *Brothers of Light* (1937). Native of the region, Miss Fergusson makes the Indian dance ceremonials an unforgettable pic-

4. Edited by Erskine Caldwell for Duell, Sloan and Pearce.

ture; she misses nothing of the pageantry and tenseness of the participants. Yet she frankly and humbly admits that the white race is alien to the Indian world, even though she perceives that their "religion is of the earth and the things of the earth . . . and they pray for real things: for sun and rain and corn. For growth. For life." Such sympathetic understanding is rare and valuable. Mrs. Henderson is equally sensitive in her small, rich account of the Penitentes of the Southwest. Holy Week at Abiquiu revealed to her the sincerity and meaning of the ancient rites of penance. To her account of this experience she adds a scholarly discussion of the origins of the ceremony, transcripts of some of the *alabados* or hymns, and beautiful descriptions of the isolated village and the rhythmic processions.

No such humility and aloofness mark the interpretations of land and people by Mary Austin, explorer, scholar, artist, mystic. From 1888 when she came as a young woman to the West, she felt herself *en rapport* with the deserts and valleys and mountains of her adopted country. She declared that "there was a part for her in the Indian life." By her many books, beginning as early as 1903, she compelled attention to the region, its arts and peoples, and its object lesson in simple values for a modern world. In *The Land of Little Rain* she is guided by the romantic American concept of nature that prevailed in the Golden Day. As Thoreau records the struggle of the ants and the daily history of Walden Pond, so she writes of water trails and coyotes. Indeed, it is odd that so little notice has been taken of the likeness both in content and style between Thoreau and Mary Austin. The Concord naturalist-philosopher might almost have written the chapter titled "My Neighbor's Field," and such a passage as this from Mary Austin will chime with many passages in *Walden* to the ear of any sensitive reader.

Choose a hill country for storms. There all the business of the weather is carried on above your horizon and loses its terror in familiarity. When you come to think about it, the disastrous storms are on the levels, sea or sand or plains. . . . You are lapped in them like uprooted grass; suspect them of a personal grudge. But the storms of hill countries have other business. They scoop water-courses, manure the pines, twist them

to finer fibre, fit the firs to be masts and spars, and, if you keep reasonably out of the track of their affairs, do you no harm.<sup>5</sup>

Later volumes by Mary Austin are more colorful and flowing in style, as *The Land of Journey's Ending* (1924), or more explicit in setting forth Mary's philosophy, as the great autobiography, *Earth Horizon* (1932); but there is a clarity and freshness about *The Land of Little Rain* that belong to her youth.

Another woman interpreter with a turn for mysticism is Laura Adams Armer, well known author of books for children and also of *Southwest* (1935), in which she outlines the pattern of life that she sees in the region. "The earth in process becomes a symbol of mutability in the Southwest, understandable and obvious. . . . The earth in process challenges ideas of stability, forcing men to invent harbors of thought. . . ."

Roy Bedichek shows himself to be not only a naturalist but a philosopher and something of a mystic in *Adventures with a Texas Naturalist* (1947). He is Wordsworthian in his reverence for the Divine plan as manifested in the harmony of nature—a harmony too often interfered with by civilized man. A quarter of a century of travel and study of flora and fauna went into the making of this fine book. In *Arkansas* (1947), the poet John Gould Fletcher has written a state history that reads like a novel as the author describes life in his native state as "different from life everywhere else in the United States." It is with this difference that he is concerned as with vivid details he tells the story of the state, from De Soto's seeking for gold to the people of the farms and cities of the present.

Ross Calvin, a clergyman yet hardly a mystic in his writings, approaches the problem from a different angle in his *Sky Determines, An Interpretation of the Southwest* (1934). He is the ecologist, anthropologist, economist, pointing out what forms of life can exist and upon what terms in the arid and semi-arid lands or in the rich valleys and high altitudes. He states his thesis in the Foreword.

But there hovers over many of the pages a shadowy ulterior purpose of pointing out to a bedevilled humanity that in the world of roots and clouds and wings and leaves there exists no Depression; that in its

5. *The Land of Little Rain* (1903), pp. 245-46.

beauties and simples rather than from divers bewildered senates and parliaments is man's peace most likely to be derived; that as life progressively adapts itself to its background of sun and soil, it gains in wholesomeness and sincerity.

*River of the Sun: Stories of the Storied Gila* (1946), also by Dr. Calvin, is written with the framework of his world of nature-determinism, but in this book more emphasis is placed upon man as the shaper of his environment. Perhaps a deciding factor was the intrepidity of such characters as Spanish Coronado and Anglo Kit Carson with whom two of the most interesting chapters deal.

Without a particular thesis but with modern techniques of appraisal, a new type of social scientist has made an important contribution to the literature of interpretation in the Southwest. Reference is made to such books as *First Penthouse Dwellers of America* (1938) written by an anthropologist and linguist, Ruth M. Underhill; *Latin Americans in Texas* (1946) written by a sociologist and journalist, Pauline R. Kibbe; *The Navaho* (1946), written by two authors, an anthropologist and a psychiatrist, Clyde Kluckhohn and Dorothea Leighton, respectively. These books view the people and the land from all the angles at which culture patterns may combine or clash. They strive to analyze the conditions of peoples upon the land in given situations and then from an understanding of the values appraise both in terms which make for harmony and social welfare or for discord and impoverishment. From such studies the reader learns that in the broad areas of the Southwest where there are both majority and minority cultural groups that each can contribute something to the other in terms of living for group satisfactions and for individual self-assurance.

A modern social scientist whose interest in Southwestern society has been largely confined to the period before 10,000 B. C. is Frank C. Hibben, whose book *The Lost Americans* (1946) makes the dawn-people in the region quite as absorbing as the people upon whom the light of history has shown clearly. Tracing the story of man on the continent back to Ice Age America when Wyoming was green and verdant, Dr. Hibben has proved the existence of homes of a cave dwelling group twenty-five thousand years ago in the Sandia Mountains north-

east of Albuquerque. Folsom Man, labelled "The First Texan," Mohave Man called "The First Californian," now have a rival in Sandia Man, named by Dr. Hibben as "The First New Mexican."

The technique of appraisal as employed by Erna Fergusson in *Our Southwest* (1940) is both a matter of definition and description. Miss Fergusson, the granddaughter of Southwestern pioneers, views the region from the perspective of its history, its economic development, its scientific, artistic, and recreational interests. El Paso as a "crossroads," Tucson as a resort, Albuquerque as a health mecca, Santa Fe and Taos as art colonies, and Ft. Worth "where cattle began"—so the Southwest is described in terms of its centers of interest and significance.

No more delightful study of adaptations to surroundings has been written about the Southwest and its neighborhood than D. H. Lawrence's *Mornings in Mexico*. Life is less primitive north of the Rio Grande but the mood of man and nature may be much the same—the patio, tree-shadowed with its familiar associations, or the wide sweep of outer world, impersonal, awe-inspiring. Parrots, Aztec gods, a market day, Indian dances of New Mexico make up this book, not just in colorful descriptive details but in the creative world of Lawrence's mind, where as in the first chapter of the green parrot calling the little curly dog, Corasmin, the world in its evolutionary cycles comes surging up from time. Nowhere is Lawrence's genius more apparent. It is this gift of seeing beneath what Lawrence calls "the mucous-paper wrapping of civilization" that leads him in his essay "New Mexico" (1929) to write:

But the moment I saw the brilliant, proud morning shine high up over the deserts of Santa Fe, something stood still in my soul, and I started to attend. . . In the magnificent fierce morning of New Mexico one sprang awake, a new part of the soul woke up suddenly, and the old world gave way to a new.<sup>6</sup>

Philosophical comment upon the land and its way of life

6. From *Survey Graphic* (1929); also in *Phoenix, The Posthumous Papers of D. H. Lawrence*, edited by Edward D. McDonald (1936), pp. 141-147. Reprinted in *Southwesterners Write* (1946), edited by T. M. Pearce and A. P. Thomason.

has not been wholly confined to Arizona and New Mexico, despite the preponderance of it there. In the older Anglo sections of the Southwest, in the woods and hills and rich farmlands of Arkansas and East Texas, a few writers have paused to contemplate nature and to meditate on patterns of living. We may note at least three. Charles J. Finger, whose home in the Arkansas Ozarks was a literary center, carried on the vigorous tradition of late nineteenth century nature writers associated with John Muir. In *Ozark Fantasia* (1927), for example, he climbs "sun-flooded hills to see haze-hung mountains" and hears old wisdom from an aged mountaineer. Finger declares that the primitive folks are "the salt of the earth." Another nature essayist is Karle Wilson Baker, also a poet and a novelist, who attentively watches the birds in her tall East Texas pines. If Finger carried on the traditions of Muir, Mrs. Baker belongs to the company of John Burroughs. *The Birds of Tanglewood* (1930), light but excellent in style, tells again the experiences of a lover of nature who finds "no end to her surprises . . . always some uncaptured marvel."

Only recently with growing urbanization have Southwesterners turned to recording the histories of towns and cities, attempting to distill their spirit. Colonel John W. Thomason, soldier, artist, writer, grew up in South Texas, and returned to it spiritually in his memorable little essay "Huntsville."<sup>7</sup> With a hint of nostalgia for the little town's Confederate memories, he sums up its history, past and present, in a pregnant sentence or two: "It has, I think, that rare and lovely thing called the sense of proportion. It pursues the common round, with only an academic eye cocked at the dubious future; which is, I consider, no bad law for living."

Samuel Wood Geiser in "Ghost-Towns and Lost-Towns of Texas, 1840-1880" preserved the names and partial history of once busy communities and pointed the way for further studies.<sup>8</sup> *Maverick Town, the Story of Old Tascosa* (1946) by John L. McCarty records the history and spirit of a Texas Panhandle community that became a ghost town until it was recently converted into Boys' Ranch. *Old Fort Davis* (1947)

7. *Southwest Review*, XIX (Spring, 1934), 233-44.

8. *The Texas Geographic Magazine*, Vol. VIII, No. I, (Spring, 1944).



by Barry Scobee traces the history of this once important but deserted ghost fort.

Shine Philips, a druggist, with a long memory, in *Big Spring, The Casual Biography of a Prairie Town* (1944) records vividly the tales of early and present days in West Texas. His fictionized device of recounting these stories to a stranger is at times strained. Boyce House, a nationally known raconteur of tall tales, found little need to stretch the truth in his histories of oil boom towns, *Were You In Ranger?* (1935) and *Oil Boom; The Story of Spindletop, Burkburnett, Mexia, Smackover, Desdemona, and Ranger* (1941).

Angie Debo in *Tulsa: From Creek Town to Oil Capital* (1943) traces the genesis and rapid growth of a thriving Oklahoma city. In *Prairie City* (1944) Miss Debo mixes imagination with history to write the story of a typical Oklahoma town from its founding on the Cherokee Strip in 1889 to World War II.

Green Peyton with *San Antonio, City in the Sun* won the 1946 book award of The Texas Institute of Letters. Mr. Peyton, recently of the editorial staffs of *Fortune* and *Time*, is a newcomer to Texas, but he reminds us that "some of the best people in Texas have been Newcomers, including those men who died in the Alamo." He is conscious of the unamalgamated elements of the city: the cattle and oil Anglos, the German merchants and brewers, the Latins—foreigners in their native city—and always the Army of old Fort Sam Houston and Randolph and Kelly Fields. Of all of this he writes with journalistic realism, with no glamorizing of the past or white-washing of the present. He sees the Mexican slums as well as the Texas flag in the sunshine over the Alamo.

George Sessions Perry has chosen from the Southwest for his *Cities of America* (1947) Dallas-Fort Worth, linked by a continuous half-humorous feud; San Antonio "cosmopolitan and manifold"; and his home town, Rockdale, Texas (pop. 2,000). Mr. Perry has travelled the nation savoring expertly the taste of her cities, but he writes best of Saturday afternoon in his own farm town.

*Albuquerque* (1947) by Erna Fergusson is an informal portrait of an informal city. Miss Fergusson, a native daughter and a far traveller, has combined description, history, and

anecdote into a readable and informative book. Her appraisal of her home town with its three races avoids both the sentimental and the harshly critical, picturing Albuquerque as no Utopia, but yet a pleasant place to live.

History and interpretation, as we have applied the terms, cover a wide range. Indeed, if we include biography, a kindred type, the group is the richest of all literary expression in the Southwest, past and present. The impulse back of all such writing is to record and explain. Now, what one esteems worth recording varies greatly. It may be one's own physical adventures on the frontier, or the development of a region, a state, or a city, or the working out of a social change, or, again, one's own spiritual and psychological adventures. The earlier Southwestern recorders set down the objective facts; the moderns try to explain why. This same trend toward accuracy, psychological subtlety, introspection marks the development of Southwestern biography and autobiography as well.

## II

### BIOGRAPHY AND AUTOBIOGRAPHY

Artless stories of personal adventures recounted by pioneers, such as those in *The Trail Drivers of Texas* and Kit Carson's story of his own life, are very simple forms of biography. But it is not until the central interest of the teller shifts from something done by a person to the person himself that we arrive at the essential quality of autobiography and biography. Not what Doctor Johnson did but Johnson the man is Boswell's subject in the greatest of all life stories. Much of the early Southwestern writing classed as travel and adventure is biographical in so far as it tells the personal experiences of Kendall or Irving or Gregg, but it contains no full length characterizations, no delineations of personality. It was that same impetus toward scholarship and motivation which we have noted in historical writing that changed biographical writing into the modern type—the impulse toward more complete and intense realization of experience.

The Southwest produced few of the sound, conventional biographies characteristic of mid-nineteenth century America, but A. B. Paine's *Captain Bill McDonald, Texas Ranger* (1909) is a sturdy example. Intensive scholarship, however, is the hallmark of the best of the contemporary biographies. Eugene C. Barker employs all available sources in his definitive *Life of Stephen F. Austin* (1926). The slender figure of Austin, cut off in his prime, was in danger of being relegated to the realm of sentiment and tradition until Dr. Barker painstakingly subjected the copious Austin manuscripts to examination. Stephen F. Austin, lonely, iron-willed, intellectual, stands forth in this biography, a New England idealist who, had he settled in Boston instead of colonizing in Texas, might have shared the friendship of Emerson and Ticknor and Sumner.

Frank C. Lockwood has presented in *Arizona Characters* (1928), a series of studies of men who have made history in the state. In the group are Father Kino; Bill Williams (for whom the town of Williams is named, as well as a mountain

and a river); Charles D. Poston, poet, mining engineer, and Arizona's first congressman; Pete Kitchen, early rancher who defied Apache raiders; Cochise, leader of Apaches for whom an Arizona county is named; General Crook; Ed Schieffelen; Governor Hunt, six times governor; and Dr. J. A. Munk, Arizona rancher and collector of Arizoniana, which he presented to the Southwest Museum in Los Angeles.

Thoroughness marks Evetts Haley's fine *Charles Goodnight* (1936). Goodnight, the dominant ranchman of the North Texas plains, is a harder man to track than Austin, who left written records at every step. Haley has trailed his man on cattle drives, and in the midst of Indian parleys at the bottom of Palo Duro Canyon. Skillfully, with no straining for effect, he weaves into the life of Goodnight the historical, economic, and social life of Texas during the heyday of the range cattle industry. In 1943 Mr. Haley added another full length portrait in *George Littlefield, Texan*. Littlefield in addition to being a cattleman was a soldier, banker, and philanthropist. Evetts Haley with his years of historical research in this period of the recent past, his own experience in ranching, and his knowledge of Texas politics and education was ideally suited to write this biography. Littlefield's paternalism is emphasized throughout the book as he amassed wealth and distributed it.

The same careful scholarship is shown in *Captain Lee Hall of Texas* (1940) by Dora Neill Raymond, a West Texan, now professor of history at Sweet Briar College. The greatest value of the book is perhaps as a history of the "smoking seventies" in Texas and Oklahoma rather than as a biography of one man. The six-feet-four red-headed ranger captain is often crowded off the pages by better known characters: Shanghai Pierce, Sam Bass, Quanah Parker, O. Henry, and Rough Rider Theodore Roosevelt with his "vigorous and dental smile." The book received the Texas Institute of Letters award as the best Texas book of 1940.

In *Kendall of the Picayune* (1943), another Texas Institute of Letters award book, Fayette Copeland after painstaking research in diaries, letters, and newspaper files traces the contributions of this pioneer adventurer, soldier, and newspaperman to the history of Texas and Louisiana. The work

which is thoroughly documented and stays close to facts is highly readable. A clearer picture than was previously available emerges of the founder of the New Orleans' *Picayune* and the author of *The Texas-Santa Fe Expedition*.

Carl Coke Rister, a research professor of history at the University of Oklahoma, has written a number of books treating of Indian wars, and Anglos pioneering in the Southwest. Among these works in which the thin line between history and biography practically disappears are *Southern Plainsmen* (1938), *Border Captives* (1940), and *Land Hunger* (1942). In *Robert E. Lee in Texas* (1946) Mr. Rister focuses his attention upon one man. Texas between 1856 and 1861 with Indian raids, Border incidents, frontier hardships is the proving ground for a West Point Lieutenant Colonel who emerges, in the words of General Winfield Scott, as "America's very best soldier." The reader comes to appreciate more fully than before, too, Lee the man, the kind, solicitous father and husband, the considerate friend, the troubled patriot forced to choose between two strong allegiances, the Union and his native state, Virginia.

Other biographies admirable in scholarship and style are Althea Bass's *Cherokee Messenger* (1936), the life of Samuel Austin Worcester, pioneer missionary to the Oklahoma Indians; Grant Foreman's *Sequoyah* (1938); Herbert Gambrell's *Mirabeau B. Lamar* (1934); and Anson Jones's *The Last President of Texas* (1948). Samuel Geiser's *Naturalist of the Frontier* (1937) is a series of sketches of those intelligent early naturalists, many of them foreign born, who first brought the scientific spirit to the Southwest: Boll, Berlandier, Drummond, Von Roemer, Lincecum, and others.

"After the opening of the new century," writes F. L. Pattee in his discussion of the "new biography" of our time, "biographical methods changed rapidly."<sup>1</sup> The "new" school not only utilizes scholarship but also folk-lore, folk-ways, and social traditions. This rich content is amalgamated with formal sources and analyzed in the light of modern psychology to determine motives and states of mind. This is what Gamaliel Bradford has termed the psychographic treatment. Likewise

1. See his excellent chapter, "The New Biography," in *The New American Literature* (1930).

the new biographer has developed a technique of writing. He employs literary devices familiar to the novelist: dramatization of scene by dialogue; conflict and suspense; description of background and personal appearance. The effect is much the same as that of fiction except for the careful documentation employed by the biographer. Where fiction creates imaginatively, biography now re-creates experience out of the knowledgeable past. Because life in the Southwest has been diverse and colorful, Southwestern biography is rich in content, offering a tempting field for the new technique.

A brilliant modern biography is Marquis James's *The Raven, A Life Story of Sam Houston* (1929), awarded the Pulitzer Prize for that year. Houston's career has always fascinated writers, both because of his political genius and his violent adventures. James makes the most of the inherent drama in his subject. Thus we read in *The Raven* how in 1813, when Sam enlisted in the Volunteers of Tennessee, his mother gave him a plain gold ring, on the inside of which "was engraved a single word epitomizing the creed that Elizabeth Houston said must forever shine in the conduct of her son." But we do not learn until the ring is taken from his dead finger on a July day in 1863 what that word was. It was Honor. Such writing might seem to border on melodrama were it not buttressed with scholarship. Almost every important statement is accounted for, a score of footnotes to each chapter. Yet Sam Houston the man emerges, life size and alive, moving in his own *milieu* and speaking his own words.

Stanley Vestal's interpretation of a great Sioux chief in *Sitting Bull* (1932) is hardly so dramatic as *The Raven*, but it represents a more difficult piece of research. Stanley Vestal works with his own knowledge of Plains tribes, forces of the land, traditions and oral history of the Indians, in order to create flesh and blood to clothe the bare bones of recorded fact. The narrative of the Sioux lad's happy childhood and novitiate as a warrior belongs with those beautiful early chapters of *The Education of Henry Adams* and of Lincoln Steffen's *Autobiography*. A companion study to *Sitting Bull*, yet less effective, is *Warpath, The True Story of the Fighting Sioux in a Biography of Chief White Bull* (1934).

Although Stanley Vestal's *Big Foot Wallace* (1942) in

liveliness falls short of Duval's story of his comrade in *The Adventures of Big-Foot Wallace* (1870), yet it supplies a contrast between the modern and the nineteenth century methods of combining fact and legend. This recent biography, too, has raised Big-Foot from a regional hero into the class of the all-American tall men of the frontier: Daniel Boone, Kit Carson, and David Crockett.

Constance Rourke, an authority on folk-lore, has completed the portrait of Crockett in her fascinating *Davy Crockett* (1934) by incorporating the legends and humor that reveal him as a folk hero as well as a defender of the Alamo. She uses all the literary devices as well as the skill of the frontier tall tale teller, and confirms her picture with a useful bibliographical chapter.

These volumes are typical of the scholarly biographies which, however vivid the style, are carefully documented for the student. More informal are other recent Southwestern life stories which, although based upon research, are cast in popular form. Their authors prefer not to exhibit the blueprints from which they built their structures.

Julia Keleher and Elsie Ruth Chant in *The Padre of Isleta* (1940) write sympathetically of the French priest, Father Docher, and his thirty-seven years of service at Isleta. Father Padilla, stirring in his coffin where he lies buried in the church by the altar, is recorded as a legend. Adolph Bandelier and Charles Lummis, friends of the Padre relive through the pages. The book achieves something of the quiet charm of *Death Comes for the Archbishop*.

Stanley Vestal's *Kit Carson* (1928) takes a long step in the direction of fiction—it enters into the mind of the hero. See the boy Kit riding into Santa Fe for the first time with the Bent caravan.

Kit Carson sat on his mule, his quirt dangling, his tired body propped on the horn of the saddle, his curious eyes ranging over the pillars of the Governor's Palace, the facades of the Cathedral, the shop fronts and mud walls of the houses. So this was Santy Fee?

The scenes are often completely dramatized. The dialogue is cast in a drawling frontier dialect that rings true and doubtless

owes much to the author's study of Garrard and the early travel writers.

Now as in their own time the early bad men and women of the Southwest have their biographers. Fact, legend, and the tall tale are blended into exciting reading. Walter Noble Burns retells *The Saga of Billy the Kid* (1925); Wayne Gard makes the train and bank robber ride again in *Sam Bass* (1936); Burton Rascoe adds a woman bandit, glamorized by time, in *Belle Starr* (1941); Kyle S. Crichton finds little need to employ legend in writing of the desperado turned sheriff in *Law and Order Limited, The Life of Elfego Baca* (1928); C. L. Sonnichsen, in *Roy Bean, Law West of the Pecos* (1943) gathers together the best of the tall tales of the Judge.

A successful variant of biographical writing is *A Vaquero of the Brush Country, Partly from the Reminiscences of John Young* (1929) by J. Frank Dobie. Old John Young, a pioneer brush rider of Southwest Texas, was a man of imagination who had in his youth dreamed of breaking the biggest monte bank in Mexico and in his old age of writing his own life. He found the ideal collaborator in Frank Dobie, bred on a Nueces River ranch and a gifted tale teller. Together they produced a narrative that has in it "the genius of the unfenced world . . . the open range before barbed wire revolutionized it." Dobie has never written a better book than *A Vaquero*.

Further instances of collaboration are George M. Coe's *Frontier Fighter* (1934), Jim (Lane) Cook's *Lane of the Llano* (1936), and W. S. Bartlett's *My Foot's in the Stirrup* (1936). Nan Hillary Harrison recorded Coe's reminiscences of the Lincoln County War. Jim Cook, once a wandering cowboy in the Southwest, told his experiences to T. M. Pearce, the best episodes of which are "The Days of the Longhorn" about his life in Texas from 1880 to 1900. Bartlett's story of his days as a scout with Mackenzie was rewritten by Mabel Major and Rebecca W. Smith. Many interesting informal biographies represent similar coöperation between author and subject: C. L. Douglas's *The Gentlemen in the White Hats* (1934), sketches of famous Texas Rangers; Dane Coolidge's *Texas Cowboys* (1937) and *Arizona Cowboys* (1938). C. L. Sonnichsen used the reminiscences of Billy King, one time cowboy, gambler, saloonkeeper, and peace officer, to write the



biography of a man and a town in *Billy King's Tombstone* (1942). Fred Gipson listened to Colonel Zack Miller's tales of the famous 101 Ranch and, retaining much of the idiom of the old timer, set them down in *Fabulous Empire* (1946).

Miguel Otero's story, *My Life on the Frontier* (1936), gives an unvarnished account of Las Vegas, Trinidad, Santa Fe, and Taos when celebrities like Clay Allison, Uncle Dick Wooten, Kit Carson, and Billy the Kid were in those "diggin's." Otero, at one time Governor of New Mexico, recalls all classes of society from the Grand Duke Alexis of Russia, whom he helped to conduct on one of the last buffalo hunts, to Wild Bill Hickok, the prodigious killer, marshal of Fort Hays, Kansas, and later of Abilene, Texas.

*Spin a Silver Dollar* (1946) by Alberta Hannum is a delightful account of the four years that her friends Sally and Bill Lippincott spent running a trading post at Wide Ruins on the Navajo Indian Reservation in Arizona and of their discovery and encouragement of the art talent of Beatie Yazz, a shy Indian boy. The sensitive, lovely illustrations by the boy artist add greatly to the charm of the book.

Women played a larger part in frontier and range life than early chroniclers make clear and certainly a different role from the sentimental episodes featured by the western moving pictures. Within the past few years some of these women have written honest autobiographies, straightforward narrations of their own share in building a civilization alongside their husbands. Mary Rak, who ranches in the southeast part of Arizona, tells a homespun story in *A Cowman's Wife* (1934); her sense of humor and her fluency give the book real charm. Hilda Faunce is more introspective and tense—one might say, more modern—in *Desert Wife* (1934) as she tells how she and her husband, a desert-bred man, left towns and machinery to drive a wagon into the heart of the Navajo Reservation to take over a trading post. She runs the gamut of loneliness and primitive conditions, battling with illness and poverty and fatigue but winning full compensations in friendship and peace under the wide sky. Other women, too, have written good autobiographies recently. Louisa Wade Wetherell, with the aid of Frances Gillmor, relates in *Traders to the Navajos* (1934), the archaeological and ethnological explorations of

the Wetherells at Mesa Verde. L. Walden Smith's *Saddles Up* (1937) is the experience of two city-bred Texans, man and wife, who discover the verities of existence on a McMullen County Ranch.

Agnes Morley Cleaveland's *No Life for a Lady* (1941) begins with a woman's wedding journey to Cimarron, New Mexico, in a stagecoach under armed escort in 1872. It ends with that woman's daughter watching a new generation of ranchers occupying the baronial homesteads of an earlier day in the Datil Mountain region. In between the first and last chapters of *No Life for a Lady*, the reader learns of the wit, wisdom, and all round resourcefulness of a pioneer family in which the woman's role was as basic as the man's. It seems that the old saying about the cattle country being good for men but "hell on women and horses" is distinctly qualified by these candid, unassuming autobiographies of courageous women.

One of the chapters in *No Life for a Lady* is entitled "Gene Rhodes." Here Mrs. Cleaveland tells of the encouragement given to her first writing efforts by a reader, named Eugene Manlove Rhodes, who was then living at Engle, New Mexico. She pays tribute to the lively humor and generosity in the character of this man, who became her friend and one of the West's outstanding writers. A full length biography of Rhodes has been written by his wife, May Davidson Rhodes. The book is called *The Hired Man on Horseback* (1938) and takes its title from a poem Gene wrote in reply to an editorial in a mid-western newspaper using the phrase in disparagement of range life. This fine poem, along with Rhodes' famous epitaph, is printed in the volume. Mrs. Rhodes explained, in measure, the remarkable phenomenon of a man who wrote seven novels and some twenty stories about a land two thousand miles away from his pen but ever present in his memory. The biography brings Rhodes back to New Mexico and California for the writing of more novels, stories, articles and poems. The end is a mountain grave where two shapely junipers form the tapers, and a headstone bears the inscription, "Pasó Por Aquí," "He passed by here."

Autobiography in the modern introspective manner has outstanding examples in recent Southwestern literature. *Life Is My Song* (1937), by John Gould Fletcher, poet and citizen

of the world, is as frank, as devoid of reticence as a novel. It is a strange bodily and spiritual odyssey that took him from the pre-Civil War mansion that was his boyhood home in Little Rock back and forth across this continent, back and forth across Europe, and home at fifty to Arkansas. The motif of Fletcher's "song" is that a writer must create in his own section of the country where he has roots. "American culture," he writes, "must be primarily regional, not metropolitan."

Harvey Fergusson in *Home in the West: An Inquiry into My Origins* (1945) announces that his purpose is "to write social history in terms of individual experience and observation." He probes into his own antecedents, childhood and youth in Albuquerque, Old Town, and the East for his answers. The biography ends with his formal education in Washington. The best chapters are of his grandparents, his own childhood home, and his boyhood on horseback or beside the river for which he had a passionate love.

Oliver LaFarge states that in *Raw Material* (1945) he makes "no attempt at coherent autobiography." It is an honest effort to put down what has made him as he is, hence the kind of writer he is. The work is of interest to the student of Southwest literature, however, primarily for an account of Mr. LaFarge's maturing attitude toward the Indian, his advance from the romantic escapism of *Laughing Boy* to an appreciation of the complex problems of the Indian in modern America.

At least two nationally known Oklahoma authors have written autobiographically. Burton Rascoe in *Before I Forget* (1937) has recorded a series of vivid recollections including those of his youth in Oklahoma. Sensitive and discerning, he evaluates the people and places he has known; yet he shows nothing of the bitterness and rebellion that appear in many such narratives. This volume takes the author through his twenty-eighth year and to 1919. *We Were Interrupted* (1947) is primarily of the "Roaring Twenties" as Mr. Rascoe knew them. Only briefly in this decade was he in Oklahoma, but long enough to see his father catapulted from "dirt farmer to oil baron." In Chicago and New York as a journalist he knew many important writers—Conrad, Galsworthy, Dreiser, Willa Cather, Somerset Maugham, T. S. Eliot. Marquis James has remembered his Oklahoma boyhood in *The Cherokee Strip*

(1946). He tells his own story with the same skill in selecting and recounting incidents that he employed in *The Raven* and *Andrew Jackson*, both Pulitzer Prize biographies.

Mr. James' account of the run on the Cherokee Strip is from his father's story. Mrs. Tom B. Ferguson in *They Carried the Torch* (1937) tells of the run from her own experience. She tells, too, of newspaper pioneering in Indian Territory and Oklahoma. Her life story furnished Edna Ferber suggestions for the popular novel and movie *Cimarron*.

The most significant autobiography that the Southwest has produced is undoubtedly Mary Austin's *Earth Horizon* (1932). At heart a philosopher—a rare attitude in a woman—Mrs. Austin tells the truth unflinchingly about "everything that matters" in her life. That is, about the little girl who found God by the walnut tree at the bottom of the orchard, the I-Mary as child and woman who was always "more solid and satisfying than Mary-by-herself." The book lays relatively little stress on those emotional relationships which women usually count to be the important events of their lives. It deals, instead, with I-Mary's relations with the Earth Horizon, "the incalculable blue ring of sky meeting earth, which is the source of experience." There emerges from the close-packed, somewhat disorderly story the very quality and function of Mary Austin's mind. It was her destiny, as she herself has phrased it, to "write imaginatively, not only of people, but of the scene, the totality which is called Nature . . . and the quality of experience called Folk and the frame of behavior known as Mystical." There is no other autobiography by a woman like *Earth Horizon* and few in the world's literature of its stature. Six years after Mary Austin's death, *The Beloved House* (1940), a study of her life and work was written by T. M. Pearce. The title of the book is a translation of the Spanish by which Mrs. Austin identified her home in Santa Fe, *Casa Querida*. Mr. Pearce interprets the phrase in terms of the nature world of America and Mary Austin's insight into the genius of minority as well as majority groups who people it.

The English essayist, poet, and novelist, D. H. Lawrence came to New Mexico from Italy in the fall of 1922, and stayed in Taos until spring, journeying then to Mexico and later in that year returning to England. In the spring of 1924, Law-

rence was again in Taos, again in Mexico in the summer, and back to Taos in the fall where he remained until April of 1925. The record of Lawrence in the Southwest has been preserved in a series of books, notable among them being *Lorenzo in Taos* (1932) by Mabel Dodge Luhan, *Lawrence and Brett* (1933) by Dorothy Eugenie Brett, and *Not I But the Wind* (1934) by Frieda Lawrence, his wife.<sup>2</sup>

Mrs. Luhan writes her book to Robinson Jeffers, offering it as a biographical interpretation of Lawrence. She recounts the circumstances of his trip to America, his desire to find in Taos and its Red Indian world a new creative center of living and sincere human relationships. His letters and conversation, as presented by Mabel Luhan tell of Lawrence's desire to write a novel in the Southwest that would express the life and the spirit of America. This he failed to do in Taos, partly because of the tension which developed between the Lawrences and Mrs. Luhan, the Honorable Brett sharing in both harmony and discord. "How ruthless we are when we live on the surface of life," observes Mrs. Luhan.<sup>3</sup> Dorothy Brett tells the story of her friendship with Lawrence, using "the facts and events as they happened, good or bad, for they were the framework upon which our days were built." Brett is tolerant, sympathetic, and understanding of the tortured moods in Lawrence.

Frieda Lawrence's autobiographical and biographical memoirs of her life with Lawrence begin in 1912 when she first met the young school-teacher writer who came to lunch to discuss with her husband a lectureship at a German university. Six weeks later she and Lawrence determined to make destined sacrifices and not long afterward they began their lives together in the Bavarian Alps. Italy, Germany, England, Sicily, Ceylon, Australia were to feed Lawrence's mind and slake his thirst for life, before he and Frieda arrived at Taos. *Not I But the Wind* (1934) reveals better than any of the other writings about Lawrence how terrifically he fought to solve the problem of personal relationships and yet how, possessed

2. The masculine view of Lawrence may be found in Knud Merrill, *A Poet and Two Painters* (1938) and in Aldous Huxley, "Introduction" to *The Letters of D. H. Lawrence* (1932). There are, of course, the books by Horace Gregory, Hugh Kingsmill, J. Middleton Murry, and W. Y. Tindall (to list only a few) which fill in the picture. The best bibliography is E. W. Tedlock's *The Frieda Lawrence Collection of D. H. Lawrence Manuscripts* (1948).
3. *Lorenzo in Taos* (1932), p. 141.

by his own impressions of rightness and truth, he continually provoked antagonism or aroused devotion in others.

Two months before Lawrence died at Vence in the French Alps, on March 2, 1930, he wrote of returning to the Southwest. "I believe I should get strong if I could get back but I am not well enough to travel yet."<sup>4</sup> Although the work Lawrence did in the Southwest, does not loom large in his total achievement,<sup>5</sup> his stay in this part of America was crucial to his artistic evolution and to his developing thought. On his second return to New Mexico, he asked his friends in England to follow him there and establish a new way of life.<sup>6</sup> In one of his last letters he echoes this thought.<sup>7</sup> For D. H. Lawrence, the artist and prophet, and for Frieda, who returned to Taos in 1937 and has since lived there, the American Southwest opened up new vistas of beauty in land and sky and of creative expression in the arts and living. The story of the Lawrences is a record of a great love, crossed by currents of friendships, positive as well as adverse. America is written into the heart of it and the American Southwest became no little part of its soul.

Mabel Luhan had begun her lengthy autobiographical memoirs while the Lawrences were living in Taos. "My total ego needed to pass off into words,"<sup>8</sup> she says of her urge to unburden the impressions she had been storing through a lifetime of artistic activities and literary associations. Only the last volume of the memoirs, strictly speaking, belongs to her life in the Southwest.<sup>9</sup> This is *Edge of Taos Desert* (1937), where she testifies that life in Taos transformed her former world of values derived from Buffalo, New York, and Florence. The gift of the Taos country is a mystical one to Mrs. Luhan: there from the great mountain with the hidden Blue Lake she draws inspiration to which the beliefs of Indians and the creative way of artists contribute. For her knowledge of the Indian world, the author of *Edge of Taos Desert* is largely indebted

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 350.

5. See Chapter, "History and Interpretation," in this book.

6. Catherine Carswell, *The Savage Pilgrimage* (1932), pp. 209-213.

7. M. Luhan, *Lorenzo in Taos* (1932), p. 351.

8. *Lorenzo in Taos* (1932), p. 63.

9. *Intimate Memories*: Vol. I, *Background* (1933); Vol. II, *European Experiences* (1935); Vol. III, *Movers and Shakers* (1936); Vol. IV, *Edge of Taos Desert* (1937).

to her husband Tony Luhan, a full-blood Taos Pueblo Indian. *Winter in Taos* (1935), a companion piece to the last volume of the memoirs, transcribes the quality of New Mexico which has caught the imagination of many people, and if, in Mrs. Luhan's version, it is not always convincing, it is always thought provoking and entertaining.<sup>10</sup>

A contemporary journalistic note is struck in Maury Maverick's *A Maverick American* (1937). The author, who has served as a United States Congressman from Texas, is a member of a distinguished American family known in the Southwest as cattle ranchers. He is a militant and somewhat theatrical reformer whose account of his genesis and development makes a chapter in the New Deal era of our national life. *A Maverick American* is the sort of bold, half humorous autobiography that one would expect the Southwest to produce.

Another maverick American is J. Frank Dobie, who for the first time has written autobiographically in *A Texan in England* (1945). The fifteen racy, intense essays are from a war year spent lecturing on American History at Cambridge. He sees England both as a lover of English literature and as an ardent Southwesterner: England and the Southwest in juxtaposition page after page. Big Foot Wallace and George Ruxton rub elbows with Shelley and Shakespeare. Back in Texas finishing the book, Mr. Dobie concludes: "I prefer to live in a country that is still developing, that has plenty of outlet, but for travel I'll choose a country with a past. . . ."

10. Mrs. Luhan's latest work is an interpretation of Taos in terms of the painters who live there: *Taos and Its Artists* (1947).

### III

#### FICTION

The serious fiction of the contemporary Southwest reveals two strong tendencies: a desire to recapture the form and meaning of the past, and an urge to record and criticize the present scene. The first is, on the whole, the temper of idealism and of sentiment; the second is a part of the scientific trend of our age. These two tendencies are apparent in all modern American fiction, but their presence concurrently in the Southwest is particularly striking.

One of the few contemporary novels on the prehistoric Indian is John Louw Nelson's *Rhythm for Rain* (1937). It is a story of a Hopi community, written in the tradition of Bandelier's *The Delight Makers*. The early Spanish and Anglo-American eras have received more attention.

*Anthony Adverse* (1933), by Hervey Allen, one of the most widely read novels of recent years, uses the early nineteenth century Southwest for the setting of most of the final book. History and scenes are portrayed with care for exact details. In Santa Fe the long arm of coincidence reaches out, and the hero's lifetime enemy, Don Luis, causes his arrest and tortuous march to the prison of St. Lazarus in Mexico City. In the end, though, Anthony finds the happiness he has sought during his odyssey on three continents, in the simple life of the New Mexico mountain village, La Luz.<sup>1</sup>

The finest novel that has come from the Southwest—and one of the finest novels of America—is Willa Cather's *Death Comes for the Archbishop* (1927), a quiet, gracious character portrayal of two mid-nineteenth century French priests, Jean Marie Latour and Joseph Vaillant, as they come in contact with

1. In *The Saturday Review of Literature* for January 13, 1934, Hervey Allen gives the Southwestern sources for material in *Anthony Adverse* from Chapter Sixty-five on. Notable among them are Kendall's *Narrative of the Texas-Santa Fe Expedition* (1884) and Gregg's *Commerce of the Prairies* (1844). He concludes his acknowledgments to people and to books with the statement "... it must be remembered of all this southwestern section depicted in the later pages of *Anthony Adverse* that I am personally familiar with it from my army experience on the Mexican border in 1916. I actually walked over much of the trail covered by Anthony."



the old Spanish and older Pueblo cultures of New Mexico. The building of the cathedral at Santa Fe is the core of the slight plot, but Indian and Spanish legends link the story with a more remote past. History is used candidly but without pedantry. Miss Cather has succeeded in a most difficult task, the portrayal of Spanish and Indian life from the viewpoint of the French priests.<sup>2</sup>

As would be expected, most Southwestern historical novels are written from the Anglo-American point of view. They concern the Anglos in contact, usually in conflict, with the Mexicans, the Indians, and sometimes with each other. Laura Krey in *On the Long Tide* (1940) and Karle Wilson Baker in *Star of the Wilderness* (1942) have both written romantically of Anglo attempts before 1836 to settle Texas and wrest the land from Mexico. Mrs. Baker's book continues into 1836 but her main story is of Dr. Grant, the "Beloved Scot" and his unsuccessful filibuster. Pendleton Hogan in *The Dark Comes Early* (1934), J. Frank Davis in *The Road to San Jacinto* (1936), and Monte Barrett in *The Tempered Blade* (1946) all focus attention on the Texas Revolution. *The Tempered Blade* is a biographical romance of Jim Bowie, the almost legendary hero of the Alamo.

Of the books centering around Taos and Bent's Fort in the thirties and forties, Harvey Fergusson's *Wolf Song* (1927) alone creates characters.<sup>3</sup> His people matter: Sam Lash, the Kentucky "blond buck in hickory and homespun," Lola Salazar, spoiled daughter of a Spanish *rico*, and Black Wolf, the Cheyenne who hunts a scalp to gain favor with his sweetheart's father. Three ways of life and of thought are made vivid. The author is equally sympathetic toward the Anglo, the Spanish-American, the Indian. There are no villains. Stanley Vestal in *Dobe Walls* (1929) and *Revolt on the Border* (1938) is also sympathetic toward the three races. His stories are frankly romances, with the interest in swift moving action. His people are far less memorable than his scenes.

2. In her autobiography, Mary Austin takes exception to Miss Cather's allegiance to the French tradition of Bishop Lamy instead of to the Spanish tradition of the region. See comments in Mary Austin, *Earth Horizon* (1932), p. 459, and in T. M. Pearce, *The Beloved House* (1940), pp. 176-178.
3. The first in the trilogy of the Santa Fe Trail called *Followers of the Sun* (1936). The other two are *In Those Days* and *The Blood of the Conquerors*.

Mr. Fergusson's *In Those Days* (1929) covers the adult life of the central figure, Robert Jayson, during the swift changes of the Anglo-American conquest of New Mexico: trading, fighting, town building, the decay of Spanish wealth. Main Street supplants the plaza in an old town—Albuquerque this time rather than the more written about Santa Fe and Taos. Jack Connor's *Conquest* (1930) is of the same Anglo-American domination in Arizona. The plot resembles the pattern of *In Those Days*. The book is clearly intended to be anti-sentimental, anti-romantic.

A recent treatment of the Indian-Mexican-Anglo wars in the Southwest is *Blood Brother* (1947) by Elliott Arnold. From histories, unpublished manuscripts and diaries, Arnold has written the life stories of Mangas Coloradas and Cochise, the two great leaders of the Chiricahua Apache tribe, who held the peace and broke it in accord with fair dealing or treachery by the Americans. Tom Jeffords, the chief white character in the book, was as real an historical personage as Cochise with whom he seals a pact of blood brotherhood. The book presents in a fairer light than many frontier novels the case of the Southwestern Indians against American conquest and settlement.

Conrad Richter's *Early Americana* (1936) is a group of sharp-cut stories of Southwest Texas and New Mexico during the sixties, seventies, and eighties. Many of them are of young women courageously facing toil and childbirth and death. *The Sea of Grass* (1937) is a novelette of a slightly later period. The main conflict is between Jim Brewton, a domineering cattleman on a ranch "larger than Massachusetts with Connecticut thrown in" and the nesters who are trying to turn the grass lands into farms. Lutie, his wife, is the Irene Forsythe of this man of property. She brings beauty and tragedy to the ranch house of the Brewton men. Richter's *Tacey Cromwell* (1942) is also the study of a woman, but from another level of society. The story is told by Nugget Oldaker, who runs away from Kansas to Arizona to join his brother, Gaye. He finds him in a gambling place where he lives with Tacey, a being of strange conflicting forces. Before the story ends, Richter has written a study not only of Tacey, Gaye, and Nugget, but of frontier community and the individuals who gave it character.

Edna Ferber's *Cimarron* (1930) and Noll Houston's *The*

*Great Promise* (1946) are romances beginning with the run on the Cherokee Strip in 1889 and the establishment of the white man in Indian Territory. Miss Ferber's story continues into the present, with the finding of oil in Oklamoma. Its objective qualities made it a good movie. *The Wind Blew West* (1935) by Edwin Lanham, a young Texan, is of the same period in West Texas; Weatherford is the town. In this novel Lanham is a realist who records much that was not pretty in ranch and pioneer town life.

*Brothers Three* (1935) by John M. Oskison could be a sequel to *Brothers in the West* (1931) by Robert Raynolds. Not that descendants of Charles and David, if they had left them, would have resembled Timmy, Henry, and Roger Odell, brothers in Oskison's book. But brothers, held by the fine ties of companionship, are a like plot in any time. Charles and David, of Raynolds' novel on their pilgrimage through the old West, finding security in the mountain ranch-home with wives, friends, children, separated from them by death, adversity, are like the three Odells in a later age, on a pilgrimage which traverses an Oklahoma farm, the bargaining on the cattle plains, and the new type of American bargaining, the New York stock exchange. Those early brothers in the West end in a symbolic transfiguration of friendship after the loss of Karin, David's wife. They die in the wilderness where the lonely mountain peak looks down upon the spot they guess to be their birthplace. The later brothers return to Under-Ridge farm, their birthplace, which one of them calls a "living organism . . . nourished by the lives that are fed into it."

Writers have recently rediscovered the Southwest for Civil War and Reconstruction novels. From the time of his boyhood in South Texas John W. Thomason—later Colonel Thomason of the United States Marines—had loved stories of the Civil War as told to him by old soldiers. For his biography *Jeb Stuart* he did historical research in the conflict. His first novel to come out of this background was *Gone to Texas* (1937), a swashbuckling romance in which a handsome Yankee officer falls in love with a pretty Rebel hell-cat and wins her after thrilling gun play on both sides of the Rio Grande. Colonel Thomason's *Lone Star Preacher* (1941) is nearer biography and history than romance. The Reverend Praxite-

les Swan, M. E. Church South, who serves as a chaplain in Hood's Texas Brigade is, the author tells us, "a combination of two distinguished early Methodist saints in Texas." The major events and many of the characters are historical. In giving the reader a sense of actual participation in the conflict this novel is comparable to Stephen Crane's *The Red Badge of Courage*. But unlike Crane's memorable tale *The Lone Star Preacher* is rich in frontier humor.

*And Tell of Time* (1938) by Laura Krey is a full-bodied pageant of Reconstruction days in South Texas. Cavin Darcy, a boyish Confederate veteran, limping homeward from Appomattox, woos a cousin for a bride and brings her to his plantation on the Brazos. They live amply—loving, working, rearing children, suffering much in the body but little in the spirit—and the house they build endures. Mrs. Krey, like Colonel Thomason, learned history not "cold and dead, shut up in books," but from the men and women who had lived it.

Most of the historical fiction of the Southwest is of men and women who were equal to the hardships of the land and times. Little has been written of the failures. Dorothy Scarborough's *The Wind* (1925) is a striking exception. It is Hardy-esque in theme. Letty Mason, a sensitive Virginia girl living on a West Texas ranch, is driven to desperation, murder, and suicide. "The wind was the cause of it all," writes Miss Scarborough in the Foreword. "The sand too had a part in it, and human beings were involved, but the wind was the primal force." Maude E. Cole's *Wind Against Stone* (1941) is a more "smiling" but less convincing story of the same region and period.

In contrast to the fiction about the past, which is prevalently romantic, that which treats the contemporary scene is inclined to be realistic.<sup>4</sup> The portrayals of farm and village life are often either preachments against the present system or disillusioned studies of narrowness, greed, and hypocrisy. Dorothy Scarborough, in *The Land of Cotton* (1923), *Can't Get a Redbird* (1929), *The Stretchberry Smile* (1932), and

4. The fiction of the range continues to be romantic, as has been pointed out in a previous section. Surprisingly little has been done in Southwestern fiction on the Negro. Probably Barry Benefield's "Ole Mistis" in *Short Turns* (1927), a sentimental character sketch of an old Negro man, is the best example.

such short stories as "The Drought,"<sup>5</sup> protest against the one crop, tenant farmer system of the cotton country. Ruth Cross makes the same protest in *The Golden Cocoon* (1924) and *The Big Road* (1931) as does Edward Everett Davis in *The White Scourge* (1940).

The novels of George Sessions Perry strike a rich mid-channel between the idealized romantic stream and stark, caustic realism. In *Hold Autumn in Your Hand* (1941), he deals with the people living on Texas bottom lands. Sam Tucker is more than an East Texas tenant farmer. He is Every Farmer who in spite of drought and flood and pests wins a living for himself and his family during the round of the seasons. The starkness of the conflict with unfriendly nature is relieved by racy country humor. This novel won both the National booksellers' award and the Texas Institute of Letters award for the year in which it appeared. In *Hackberry Cavalier* (1944), some of the same characters reappear in a series of stories loosely strung together by Edgar Selfridge, the cavalier, who plays a role in most, and is merely a listener in others. All are delicious humor of the American tall-tale variety, recounted with an easy drawl.

Jewell Gibson's *Joshua Beene and God* (1946) likewise combines realism and country humor. The story tells of the Reverend Joshua Beene, preacher, fanatic, charlatan, and the fighting of rival church people in a backwoods East Texas cotton farming community. This robust novel falls short of Mr. Perry's *Hold Autumn in Your Hand* in universality of theme and firmness of plot structure.

Sigman Byrd's *The Redlander* (1939), also of Southeast Texas farm and small town setting, is realistic in portrayal of people, but is weakened by a melodramatic conclusion. Mr. Byrd's short stories of the same region in *Tall Grew the Pines* (1936) show no such flaw.

In 1939, a book about "the red country and part of the gray country of Oklahoma" aroused all of America to the plight of families living upon marginal land in areas of the West where the richness of the earth had disappeared. This book was John Steinbeck's *The Grapes of Wrath*, a prose epic of man's fight against unyielding forces in nature and society.

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5. *Best Short Stories of the Southwest* (1928), edited by Hilton Ross Greer.

The Joad family made their overland trek from their lost farmland in Oklahoma through the Panhandle of Texas, across New Mexico and the desert of eastern California to the vineyards of the coast. There are more than a dozen characters in *The Grapes of Wrath*, but the important unit is the family to which all are related or attached, and in the center is Ma Joad, "the citadel of the family, the strong place that could not be shaken." In 1940, a novel of less stature, but of somewhat similar theme was written by Lorraine Carr. It was called *Mother of the Smiths* and dealt with a migratory family from Texas, that came into Taos penniless, hoping to find new roots there. The central figure is Sabe Smith, who gives herself unselfishly to her family and even to her antagonistic neighbors, and brings up six sons with little help from their worthless father, Si. Three years later, John Sinclair wrote *In Time of Harvest*, the story of another family from Oklahoma. The McClungs settled in the Estancia Valley of New Mexico. They are just as hardy as the Smiths and just as vulgar as the Joads. The chief figures in the McClung family are the males, Tod McClung and his father-in-law, a unique creation who calls himself a "he-rounder" and is a derivative of Davy Crockett and Grandpa Joad. There are interesting parallels among the Joads of Steinbeck, the Smiths of Lorraine Carr, the McClungs of John Sinclair.

Hart Stilwell in *The Uncovered Wagon* (1947) tells the story of a family of the Texas Rio Grande Valley who are constantly on the move. Wife and children are dominated and terrorized by the father, "My Old Man," who rages at people and animals but has a way with things that grow from the soil. Less forceful but certainly more pleasant novels of pioneering in the same region are Margaret Bell Houston's *Magic Valley* (1934) and Cleo Dawson's *She Came to the Valley* (1943).

Whether these people are on the red earth of Oklahoma, the sandy loam of New Mexico, the irrigated soil of Texas or California, or on the bottom lands of Texas, they have in common the love of whatever soil they own and the attempt to hold it and make it yield to them the nourishment for life.

An increasing number of novelists are writing of contemporary town and city life. George Milburn in the short stories

of *Oklahoma Town* (1931) and *No More Trumpets* (1933) and in the novel *Catalogue* (1936) writes of the sunburnt, frame-built town of the plains, ugly, crude, complacent. There are a few Indians, a few Negroes; the white people are mostly poor. There is not even the glamour of new-found oil in Milburn's little towns. The "folk" to Milburn are not "children of nature," but lusty, cruel creatures, whose activities are relaxed by moments of sardonic humor. In the short novel *Flannigan's Folly* (1947) Mr. Milburn has mixed sentiment and country lore with realism. Quick wit has taken the place of the sardonic humor of such short stories as "The Fight at Hendryx's."<sup>6</sup>

No such humor relieves Frank Elser's bitter memories of the Plain's town of his youth, Fort Worth, as he sets them down in *The Keen Desire* (1926). In *The Inheritors* (1940) Philip Atlee (James Phillips) of a later generation in Fort Worth blames the decadent escapades of the country club younger-set on their having grown up overly privileged and undisciplined. Both Frank Elser and James Phillips have continued writing novels but not of the Southwest.

Anne Pence Davis writes neither bitterly nor sentimentally in *The Customer Is Always Right* (1940), a novel of Stracy's Department Store in Plainstown, Texas. The town is obviously Wichita Falls. The yellow brick walls of the store and the change of the seasons through a year bind together the comedies and tragedies of many lives.

*The Ring and the Cross* (1947) by Robert Rylee has its setting during World War II in a Texas seaport city, obviously Houston. Mr. Rylee perhaps turned to his native Mississippi for his main character, Senator Adam Denbow. This controversial novel, while overly lurid and melodramatic, is indicative of the trend in Southwest fiction to grapple with present day evils.

Recently writers of fiction have discovered oil. Many excellent short stories and novels have been published. "Windfall" by Winifred Sanford pictures the confusion of an overworked farm woman when an oil well comes in on her land.<sup>7</sup> *Family Style*, *We Inheritors*, *Oklahoma Wildcat*,

6. *The American Mercury*, XXV (February, 1932), 152-159.

7. *Best Short Stories of the Southwest* (1928), edited by Hilton Ross Greer.

all by women, appeared in 1937 and 1938. Karl Wilson Baker in *Family Style* shows the effect of sudden oil wealth on the various ramifications of the Priest family in the East Texas field. Mrs. Baker, who is primarily a poet and essayist, makes places real; her people and plot are unconvincing. Mary Stuart Chamberlain's *We Inheritors* is a psychological study of second generation oil money in Houston. *Oklahoma Wildcat* by Augusta Weaver shows the insatiable spirit of gambling which motivates the oil game. In *Thunder in the Earth* (1941), Edwin Lanham draws upon similar motivation and settings for his story of Cobb Walters, who begins with nothing, becomes a millionaire, fights the bankers and the government controls, is broken in the fight, and starts again with the same devil-may-care grit and nonchalance that once carried him to the top. Mary King's *Quincie Bolliver*, published in the same year, is written from the viewpoint of the child of a mule driver as she comes to know oil men in a shabby boarding house and a shanty in a Texas boom town. In her more recent novel *These Other People* (1946) Miss King turned to the French Quarter of New Orleans for her characters and setting. Popular magazines publish serial stories with oil fields as settings. "Derrick Town" by Norma Patterson and Crate Dalton, which appeared in *Holland's Magazine*, and "Never Another Moon" by Helen Topping Miller in the *Ladies Home Journal* are typical of these.<sup>7a</sup>

The Indian has been a stock figure in American fiction since Cooper. Only recently has there been a serious attempt to enter into the redman's psychology and present his problems. Oliver La Farge, who has lived much with the Navajos, has done two full length studies of young Indian men and women in *Laughing Boy*, the Pulitzer Prize novel for 1929, and *Enemy Gods* (1937). Both books are neo-romantic in portraying the primitive life as the good life. It is only by turning away from the white man's civilization back to the order and rhythm of the Trail of Beauty that the Indian boy or girl finds satisfaction. In *Laughing Boy* the hero meets the white man's ways through Slim Girl, a product of the Government School; in *Enemy*

7a. See *Holland's Magazine*, 56 (July 1937-August, 1938); *Ladies Home Journal*, 55 (April-August, 1938). *Never Another Moon* was published in book form later in the same year.



*Gods* the boy goes to school, tries the Christian-White way, hopes to become a leader of his people, but finally returns to the Navajo prayers and the hogans of "The People." "If we want to save ourselves," he says, "we have to learn to use the white man's knowledge, his weapons, his machines—and—still be Navajos."

There have been other Southwestern studies of Indians. In *Sundown* (1934) by J. J. Matthews the Oklahoma Indian boy who goes to college, fights as an aviator in World War I, gets oil money, drinks, and drives fast cars, finds in the end that he can live happily neither with Indians nor white men. The book closes on a note of frustration. Not so Edwin Corle's *People on the Earth* (1937), in which the Navajo youth smashes through the white man's codes to achieve freedom with his own people. Corle's book, sensitive and restrained, compares favorably with La Farge's treatment of a similar plot in *Enemy Gods*.

Frances Gillmor in *Windsinger* (1930) writes of a Navajo medicine man in his relationship with his own people and tribal religion. The white men are only the traders and herders that he meets at post and windmill. During a drouth the Windsinger prays for the wind to bring rain, and fails. He leaves the reservation ashamed; later he returns, sings, and the rain comes. The mood and style are that of the Old Testament prophets. Stanley Vestal in an unforgettable short story, "The Listeners Under-the-Ground," makes his reader feel the tragedy of the failure of the stoical Arapaho whose wife dies after he has caused sixty-four pieces of skin to be cut from his body that she might live.<sup>8</sup>

In *The Man Who Killed the Deer* (1942), Frank Waters has wrestled with the same problem as La Farge, Matthews, and Corle: "Can the Indian adjust himself to a world not of his making?" Martiniano, the Taos Indian, who has been six years in a Government school, runs afoul of the Game Laws, the rules of the Indian Council, and the customs of the Spanish natives before he finds his way back to the friendship of his people and to the power of their tribal faith.

8. *Best Short Stories of the Southwest*, Second Series (1931), edited by Hilton Ross Greer.

Discussion of the peyote cult is an important feature of the book; the Indian trader, Byers, is an outstanding character.

Until 1941, the Spanish American in the Southwest had been less written about than the Indian. Harvey Fergusson's *Blood of the Conquerors* (1921) was one of the early novels to deal with Spanish American life. This book is the story of Ramon Delcasar, the last scion of a once powerful New Mexico family. In an effort to win as his wife a wealthy Anglo "subdeb," he violates every principle of honor. Failing he sinks into idle half-contentment on a small farm that had been part of the large holdings of his grandfather.

About 1941 a surge of writing interest developed about the culture of the native Spanish. Between 1941 and 1947 there were six novels published whose themes centered upon the life of the Spanish in New Mexican communities. The novels with their authors and themes are as follows: *People of the Valley* (1941), by Frank Waters, the struggle between Spanish and Anglos for land and power in the Mora Valley near Las Vegas; *In the Night Did I Sing* (1942), by O'Kane Foster, the spiritual unrest in a group of villagers in the Sangre de Cristo Mountains near Taos; *The Life and Death of Little Joe* (1944), by Robert Bright, the struggle against ignorance and poverty of an isolated community as symbolized by a boy whose father was serving a penitentiary sentence for murder; *The Proud People* (1944), by Kyle Crichton, the decline in prestige and wealth of an aristocratic Spanish family in the business metropolis of the state, Albuquerque; *Dayspring* (1945), by Harry Sylvester, the search of an eastern anthropologist for a personal philosophy or the hope of religion among the Penitentes, a fraternity practicing flagellation during its Easter rites; *The Turquoise* (1946), by Anya Seton, the survival, through experiences that carry her from poverty to wealth and power in New York, of the gift of healing and insight in the life of a Santa Fe girl born of a Spanish mother and a Scottish father. The writers of these novels have opened channels for understanding the Spanish traditions and character. They have brought appreciation and sympathy for the problems facing rural communities whose economy and culture have been dislocated by the invasion of industrialism, war, and scientific advance. Best of all, they have shown apprecia-

tion for the qualities in the Spanish genius which can add to the variety and worth of life in America.

Two Texas novels protest against the injustices to Mexicans in the Rio Grande Valley. Hart Stillwell's *Border City* (1945) is of the uneven conflict between Anglos and Mexicans in business, social life, and politics. Claude Garner's *Wetback* (1947) reveals convincingly the pitiable plight of the Mexican workman who has entered the United States illegally, usually by swimming the River. Mr. Garner, who has employed hundreds of wetbacks, writes with force and sincerity about conditions that he knows well. Frank Waters' novel, *The Yogi of Cockroach Court* (1947), also deals with border life, shocking the reader with its portrayal of social conditions. Against a background of sordid vice, Mr. Waters places a Chinese philosopher whose Oriental wisdom transcends but little changes the environment.

A number of sophisticated, psychological novels and short stories have been written in the Southwest. They treat the individual problems of sensitive Anglo-Americans in a modern world. In many instances the heroes are such introspective young men as the writers themselves. The Southwest settings and characters enrich the stories but often are not an integral part of them. There is much attention to pattern and style. Donald Joseph's *October's Child* (1930) and *Four Blind Mice* (1932) are of this school. Experiences are presented not directly but through the consciousness of adolescents and young men. The mood is that of disillusion.

Stark Young in *The Street of the Islands* (1930) includes a number of sympathetic sketches of Southwest scenes and characters. He is aware of nuances of light and shade. His stories are exquisitely done little pictures.

Katherine Anne Porter, who grew up near San Antonio and has lived in Dallas and Fort Worth, is recognized as one of America's most distinguished writers of the shorter forms of fiction. Many of her finest short stories and novelettes in the three volumes *Flowering Judas* (1930), *Pale Horse, Pale Rider* (1939), and *The Leaning Tower* (1944) are of Southwest people and places. For perfect artistry in portraying moods and impressions on a small canvas Miss Porter is com-

parable to Katherine Mansfield. In the stark realism of a few of her stories she is more like John Steinbeck.<sup>9</sup>

Mary Austin's canvas for *Starry Adventure* (1931) is crowded with details of New Mexico folk-lore and native customs. Gard Sitwell's adventure does not rise significantly above its setting. A story of somewhat similar setting is Myron Brinig's *All of Their Lives* (1941). Florence Gresham becomes the symbol of a group in the Southwest who seek the exotic aspects of the region as an explanation of their own failures to make emotional and social adjustments, Florence comes to Taos after the disappointment of three marriages and her life spent in the East and Europe. Brinig's drama of characters in the studios and salons of Taos is drawn to life.

Paul Horgan's two novels of a projected trilogy, *Main Line West* (1936) and *A Lamp on the Plains* (1937), carry the story of the hero, Milford, to his graduation from a military school in southern New Mexico. Life assumes a serious aspect for him after the death of his mother, who is stoned at a pacifist meeting, and the death of a companion at military school. He is a prematurely thoughtful and earnest youth when Mr. Horgan leaves him at the end of the second novel. The characters in *Far from Cibola*, which Horgan wrote in 1938, are of the same region as those in *Main Line West* and *A Lamp on the Plains*, but the time is that of economic depression, government relief, the imprint of insecurity upon ranch families, clerks, truck drivers, road workers, and hitch-hikers.

*Fire in the Night* (1934) and *No Quarter Given* (1935) are novels whose locale is Santa Fe, and the life conflicts stimulated by artistic temperament. Raymond Otis, author of the first, has used the Volunteer Fire Department of Santa Fe for an introduction to his unique group of characters, but there is symbolism implied for the emotional discontent which smoulders in a triangle involving an American couple and a romantic Spaniard. Paul Horgan's *No Quarter Given* has a central character, Edmund Abbey, whose career in the East as a musician-composer is cut short by an illness that directs him to the Southwest. There he meets Maggie Michaelis, an actress flee-

9. For a discerning critical review see Vernon A. Young, "The Art of Katherine Anne Porter," *New Mexico Quarterly Review*, XV (Autumn, 1945), 326-341.

ing from the frustration of a love affair. What would be unalleviated tragedy in the ending of Abbey's life finds a measure of fulfillment in the worthy and creative love he and Maggie share, which enables him to write a last symphonic work of triumph.

Dorothy Belle Hughes, who established herself as a first rank mystery writer with plots laid in New York, California, Spain, and elsewhere, places the action of *The Blackbirder* (1943) and *Ride the Pink Horse* (1946) in Santa Fe and Albuquerque, where she made her home for many years. In the first novel, Mrs. Hughes builds an exciting story from a new type of slave trade, the traffic in refugees from war torn Europe. In *Ride the Pink Horse*, a Chicago political murder is solved during the annual Santa Fe Fiesta, where the old fashioned merry-go-round called "Tio Vivo" whirls the pink horse as a mount for laughing children. Writer Hughes captures the mood of the place while sustaining suspense and suspicion.

Three novels written during and immediately following the World War II period sound a note that has not been conventional among Southwestern novelists—the satisfactions of the home place. As one looks back over the many novels, significant in interpreting traditions, peoples, and events, the number devoted to love of places and their associations are in the minority. Such novels tax the powers of writers to make readers share particular loyalties through universal experiences of love and friendship or their opposites in typical community living. Paul Horgan's *The Common Heart* (1942) draws upon his early memories of Albuquerque for scenes of the physician, Peter Rush, and his long service in an arid country to which healthseekers came and in which they found new meaning as well as new vitality in living. Curtis Martin's *The Hills of Home* (1943) describes the youth of an ordinary American boy, but it is not a commonplace youth, because John Fellows is alive in his imagination to the vibrations he feels from the characters, both strong and weak, both loving and unloving, who make up his home town in the canyon of the Cimarron.

Loula Grace Erdman's *The Years of the Locust* (1947) has its setting in rural Missouri, but its theme of the impor-

tance of the individual and family and community tradition is equally valid for Texas, the author's adopted state. Between Old Dade's death on Thursday and his funeral on Saturday, "the years that the locust hath eaten" are restored to many through their memories of the influence the dead man exercised upon the lives of the living.<sup>10</sup>

This world of steadfast values is one which the reader of Southwestern fiction comes to treasure as a sign that novelists have discovered the final inexhaustible vein of ore for their work in the personal associations indefinitely yet inseparably fixed on the hillside, plain, or river bottom of the home place.

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10. Miss Erdman's book won the Dodd-Meade \$10,000 novel contest for 1947. Although the limitations of this chapter exclude such a fine sea tale as *Wake of the Red Witch* (1946) by Garland Roark, this Texan, whose first novel was a "Literary Guild" selection, is a name to be watched.

## IV

### LITERARY FOLKTALES

The literary folktale based on popular material is a narrative, usually short, with a loose plot that has dramatic situations, suspense, and a climax frequently pointed in a witty or homely saying. Sometimes there is characterization. It is consciously well written; indeed, the craftsmanship is often of a high order. This type of narrative has the same relation to the literally translated or transcribed story of the folk that such an art ballad as Scott's "Lochinvar" bears to the old Scotch "Katharine Jaffray," or David Guion's concert piece "Turkey in the Straw" to the old folk tune as strummed by a Negro. Washington Irving set a first precedent in America for transmuting folk material into literature. In the Southwest Frank Applegate, J. Frank Dobie, Mary Austin, and many others have practiced the art.

Frank Applegate left two books: *Indian Stories from the Pueblos* (1929) and *Native Tales of New Mexico* (1932), memories of his life among Indians as a friend and trader. He wrote not for a ready fiction market, but to record what he had learned of the history of pueblos and individuals. His stories do not lack taste and artistry, though they are not the work of a professional man of letters. "Ancestral Eagles," one of the best stories in the first book, tells of the difficulties that Hopi Tabo had in getting the Government Agent to recover an eagle stolen by a Navajo. The feathers were necessary to Tabo for a ceremonial dance, and the nest which had been robbed was clearly on the Hopi Reservation. Tired of waiting for the law to help him, Tabo disappears in the direction of a Navajo sheep-herder's camp. The next morning Tabo's eagle is released at the proper time to carry its message to the gods, and about the same time a Navajo is waking up at his sheep camp with a large lump on his head. In one hand he grasps the tail feathers of a golden eagle.

*Native Tales* has the same quiet, forceful wisdom and humor. The account of how Juan Mora recovered his lost

burro Miguelito and got drunk with him down in the abandoned well is one of the priceless literary folktales of the country. "The salient characteristic of all of them is that they could not have happened anywhere else, which is the unassailable hallmark of regionalism in literature," was Mary Austin's comment on Applegate's work in her Introduction to the volume.

Mary Austin's *Lost Borders* (1909) is a masterpiece of story-telling. The setting is the Mojave desert; the cast a health-seeking Englishman who becomes a squaw man, a shepherd who befriends an antelope, a clerk who leaves his family to hunt gold, a prostitute, and others who play their parts within the destiny of that dim, hot valley marked by misty ranges which are the borderline between society and nature. *One Smoke Stories* (1934), another book of folktales by Mrs. Austin, is a less unified group but equally final in the perfect artistry with which each little tale unfolds its significance.

The most influential volume of American literary folktales is J. Frank Dobie's *Coronado's Children* (1930), widely circulated as the choice of one of the book-of-the-month clubs. Search for lost mines and buried treasure, an age-old lure, is the theme of a score of exciting and convincing tales. Actually, after the appearance of the book, hunting for silver and gold in the hills and caves of Texas began anew. *Tongues of the Monte* (1935) is the framework for a series of richly colored stories from Mexico. Such wisdom as Innocencio's is of the tradition of Sancho Panza. In 1939, Dobie wrote *Apache Gold and Yaqui Silver*, a second volume of treasure legends, including the Lost Adams Diggings in New Mexico.

Many other skillful craftsmen have written literary folktales. Elizabeth Willis DeHuff, student and teacher among the Indians of New Mexico, shows humor and sympathetic understanding in "The Grinding Stones."<sup>1</sup> Ruth Laughlin Alexander, who has lived all her life along the upper Rio Grande, is aware of the overtones and undertones of Spanish-American life, and captures them in such a story as "The

1. *The New Mexico Quarterly*, II (November, 1932), 299-311; also in Pearce and Hendon, *America in the Southwest* (1933), 228-242.



House of the Wall Door."<sup>2</sup> Nina Otero Warren, herself of aristocratic Spanish descent, tells charming saints tales and folk stories, warm in emotional values.<sup>3</sup>

Frank Goodwyn, cousin of J. Frank Dobie, has followed the Dobie tradition in his novel-length folktale, *The Magic of Limping John* (1944). This is a story of rare humor, telling the experiences of a charlatan who comes to believe in the truth of his own faking and imposture. The Franciscan Fray Angelico Chavez, native born Spanish-American, has reached a fullness of tradition and artistry in the stories of *New Mexico Triptych* (1945). "Hunchback Madonna," one panel in the triptych, is a folktale told with more than the groping language of the simple informant, enriched by the insight of creative imagination and framed by the language of the artist in letters.

The numerous volumes of the *Publications* of the Texas Folk-Lore Society and *Folk-Say* preserve a rich, miscellaneous body of narratives, ranging from homespun hearsay to carefully wrought literary folktales. J. Frank Dobie, editor of the Texas Folk-Lore Society from 1922 to 1943, and Mody Boatright, his assistant and successor as editor, have welcomed contributions close to everyday living. They have included much valuable source material, and from time to time have discovered tales touched with creative imagination. Some of them are: Riley Aiken, "A Pack Load of Mexican Tales"; Ruth Laughlin Barker, "New Mexico Witch Tales"; Julia Beasley, "The Uneasy Ghost of Jean LaFitte"; J. Mason Brewer, "Juneteenth"; John R. Craddock, "The Legend of Stampede Mesa"; Martha Emmons, "Dyin' Easy" and "Walk Around My Bedside"; Everardo Gámiz and Bertha McKee Dobie, "Legends from Durango"; Jovita Gonzales, "Among My People" and "The Bullet-Swallower"; Charles L. Sonnichsen, "Mexican Spooks from El Paso"; N. A. Taylor, "The Devil and Strap Buckner."<sup>4</sup>

B. A. Botkin, guiding hand in the four issues of *Folk-Say; A Regional Miscellany*, published by the Oklahoma Folk-Lore Society from 1929 to 1932, began by collecting folk materials;

2. *Space*, I (Sept., 1934).

3. *Old Spain in Our Southwest* (1936).

4. All of these are in the *Publications*, III (1923), X (1932), XII (1935), and XIII (1937).

but after the first number he sought vivid, conscious writing and modern craftsmanship. In the handsome volume for 1930, for example, are to be found such instances of the literary folktale as Maurice G. Fulton's "Apocrypha of Billy the Kid," Daniel M. Garrison's "A Song of the Pipeline," Charles Morrow Wilson's "Folk Beliefs in the Ozark Hills," Paul Horgan's "The Witch," and Della I. Young's "The Pioneer Dance." In some of these the transition from folk recording to literary tale is so clear that the volume makes a good study of the problem. The third and fourth issues of *Folk-Say* are devoted chiefly to literature about the folk.

In June of 1947, the New Mexico Folklore Society published its first volume of folklore material, *The New Mexico Folklore Record*. Materials ranged from the recorded narratives of folklore informants to articles about folk crafts and the production of folk dramas. "The Devil, Saint Michael, and the Hermit's Bottle" by Margaret Page Hood is a story of the production of "Los Pastores" by the people in a village of southern New Mexico. The text and characters in the play carry on a folk tradition, but the story is an interpretation of the village people and their background from the sympathetic point of view of the author. Such is the milieu of the literary folktale, i. e. folk materials handled by a skilled interpreter.

An area rich in the streams of folklore and one where collecting of folk materials is actively pursued will see more and more of this transmutation of traditional subject matter into conscious literature. The supreme achievement in the form comes when writers grow up in the folk traditions and then, in a sense, grow beyond it through sophistication of mind and taste by education and literary experience.

## V

### POETRY

Nowhere is the outdooriness of Southwest life more reflected than in the poetry, whether the poet is an Omar Barker making hard riding range ballads, a Karle Wilson Baker writing delicate lyrics of star and pine, a John Gould Fletcher etching sharp images, a Witter Bynner or a Haniel Long searching for significance in experience. The visitors, too, write of the far horizons, of the immense bowl of the sky, and of man dwarfed by Nature. Each in this land of sun and wind and space experiences "a visitation of the divine excitement" and in accordance with his gifts makes it into a poem.<sup>1</sup>

The western tradition of vigorous ballad poetry and the gentler strain of romantic lyrics are still vital in the Southwest, but each has become within recent years truly rooted. To these two streams of influence has been added a third, difficult to define. When we call it modern, we recognize that it has the qualities of contemporary European and American poetry. It is experimental in technique, experiential and psychological in subject matter. There is a striving for intensity and uniqueness. It is sophisticated, disillusioned, yet not unrarely metaphysical. Often it is neo-primitive, influenced by the songs and dance rhythms of the Indians and exalting the folkways of pueblo and hogan. Beneath the cadence of *vers libre* can be heard the drum beat. Above the preoccupation with turn of phrase is the searching for the primitive harmony with the universe.

Not so much poetry has been written in the range tradition in recent years as one would expect, though the quality is high. Omar Barker has published the greatest number of these poems of the cattle country. *Buckaroo Ballads* (1928) preserves the stories and psychology of the cowboy, his need for elbow room and a horse, his hatred of cities and cars. There

1. Most of the individual poems mentioned in this section may be found in one of the following: Beatty, Payne, Smith, and Vann, *Texas Poems*; Botkin, *The Southwest Scene*; Bushby, *The Golden Stallion*; Greer, *Voices of the Southwest*; Greer and Barns, *New Voices of the Southwest*; Henderson, *The Turquoise Trail*; Major and Smith, *The Southwest in Literature*; Kaleidograph; Folk-Say; *New Mexico Quarterly Review*; *Southwest Review*; *Arizona Quarterly*. For titles of volumes by individual poets see the bibliography.

have been many other good poems in this near heroic manner: Berta Hart Nance's "Cattle"; Whitney Montgomery's "Death Rode a Pinto Pony"; Vaida Montgomery's "Stampede"; E. E. Dale's "The Prairie Schooner"; Karle Wilson Baker's "Song of the Forerunners"; Kenneth Kaufman's "The Passing Herd"; Badger Clark's "High-Chin-Bob"; Henry Herbert Knibb's "The Lone Red Rock"; Eugene Manlove Rhodes' "The Hired Man on Horseback"; Everett Gillis' "Hello the House!"; to name a few of the more original. These poems are, on the whole, of the past, a past that seems to the writers larger and better than the present.

A very few poets have written of this past with humor, a touch of braggadocio, a note of the tall tale. Stanley Vestal with his tongue in his cheek in several poems of the volume *Fandango*; Lynn Riggs plainly grinning in such poems as "The Old Timer"; Carlos Ashley with a smile and a heart-tug in *These Texas Hills*. These poems are to the serious romantic verse narratives as Charles Russell's and Mary Bonner's exaggerated, almost burlesque pictures of the cowboy are to Frederick Remington's idealized paintings.

John Houghton Allen in *Song to Randado* is unlike any other Southwestern poet. He writes of a Mexican Texas ranch with a love of the old and a bitterness toward the new. His songs are psychological, harsh, moving.

Most of this new western poetry has the authentic ring. The writers are usually native. They know their history first or second hand and their geography first hand. Many of the poems are from the author's own experiences. The life portrayed whether of the past or the present is a good life. The poetic form and style are traditional. The ballad stanza is often used.

By far the largest number of volumes of poetry published by Southwesterners in recent years are lyrics, primarily of Nature, though the other lyrical strings are plucked—love, death, war, religion. In the Southwest people live much in the open and if not actually in the country at least with patios and gardens as outdoor living rooms. Karle Wilson Baker and Grace Noll Crowell stand out among these nature poets. Each has published a number of volumes and has received national recognition. They are both skilled craftswomen and possess the lyrical gift in a high degree. Mrs. Baker is almost Words-

worthian in her reverence for Nature. The pine tree and the star are her poetic symbols. Her volumes are *Blue Smoke* (1919), *The Burning Bush* (1922), and *Dreamers on Horseback* (1931). Grace Noll Crowell's intense love for her adopted land is sung in many volumes among which are, *Silver in the Sun* (1928) and *Flame in the Wind* (1934). Yet she may have made her most lasting gift to Southwest poetry in her religious verse in *The Light of the Years* (1936) and *Songs of Courage* (1930). It has been a long time since such fine religious poetry has been written in the United States, not since the period of Whittier and Bryant.

Lexie Dean Robertson and Margaret Bell Houston add a touch of lightness and whimsicality to the usual romantic sweetness in such poems as "My Sins and I," and "If You Leave Your Door Ajar." But Lexie Dean Robertson's strongest and most original poems are of the Texas oil fields. No pretty lyrics these. She casts aside regular rhythms and writes starkly in free verse and polyphonic prose. Another romantic poet who writes realistically of oil is Violet McDougal of Oklahoma.

Margaret Bell Houston's most quoted lyric is "Song from Traffic." This theme of nostalgia, homesickness for the plains, for the Gulf, the hills, for childhood, has produced many tender and beautiful lyrics in the Southwest: Kenneth Kaufman's "Blanket Flowers"; John McClure's "In Bourbon Street"; Hazel Harper Harris' "A Blue Bonnet Picture"; C. T. Davis' "Hills of Home"; Clyde Walton Hill's "The Little Towns of Texas"; Carey Holbrook's "Little Houses."

Hilton Ross Greer, founder and for many years president of the Texas Poetry Society, is one of the few Southwest poets who writes of city life as often as of country. "Bird on a Downtown Wire" from *Ten and Twenty Aprils* (1935) is characteristic with its philosophical twist. His most copied poem from the same collection is a majestic backward look, "The Road of Midnight Pageants." A. E. Browning in "Tulsa, Oklahoma" and Ann McClure in "Roofs" cut sharp city images in free verse. Boyce House usually writes of the city harshly, in *Texas Rhythm* (1936), but in "Beauty is Elsewhere" with freshness and a sense of awe.

David Russell, who succeeded Mr. Greer as president of

the Texas Poetry Society, is primarily a writer of lyrics, though he has successfully assayed the narrative. "Crescent Moon" from his volume *Sing With Me Now* (1946) cuts an incisive image and is philosophical in its implications. Ruth Averitt, too, writes of nature interpretively. "Melody in Crystal" is one of her most successful poems in employing nature as a symbol.<sup>2</sup>

Patrick Moreland, while handling the usual lyrical themes, writes astringently and with a touch of irony, even grim humor as in "Mice" and "The Black Cat." He is not afraid of the unlovely. Tom H. McNeal in brief poems in *Motley's the Only Wear* (1942) smiles wryly at life. He writes sensitively, often whimsically of youth, April, and death. Fray Angelico Chavez writes of man and beast, reptile and fly, with philosophical humor in "Adventures in Cibola," "Saints and Dogs," "To A Fly," and "Rattlesnake."

Siddie Joe Johnson discovers the beauty she ever seeks in the sounds and sights of the city in "Southwest City" from *Gallant the Hour* (1946). But it is of her own Gulf coast that she writes with the most intensity in "The Land I Know" from the volume called *Agarita Berry* (1933). In addition to her lyrical gift Miss Johnson tells a story in verse with sustained interest and emotional appeal. "The Ballad of the Old Woman," and "The Ballad of Dolores" read well aloud, and "Norther," a sonnet sequence, grips the attention like a well told short-story. Stanley Babb, another poet of the Gulf, in *The Death of a Buccaneer* (1927) finds an escape to Cathay or the haunts of the pirates in lyric and ballad. Like his forerunner John Sjolander he sees poems in the folktales of the coast. He is not inclined to moralize, however, like Sjolander in his well known poem "O Steerman."

Glen Ward Dresbach writes feelingly of land and cliff and sky in *The Colors of the West* (1922) and *Star Dust and Stone* (1928), but he is even more concerned with the individual. "Water Finder" creates a character as definite as Robert Frost's "Hired Hand." His poem "The Golden Stallion" gives the title to D. Maitland Bushby's useful anthology of Southwestern verse. Arthur Sampley, too, is more often a portrait than a landscape painter in the brief, discerning character

2. Included by Ted Malone in *Adventures in Poetry* (1946).

studies in *This Is Our Time* (1943) and *Of the Strong and the Fleet* (1947).

In the far Southwest poets write with the same intensity of the desert, the turquoise sky, the too infrequent rain, and the lights on the mountains. Harvena, talented daughter of Conrad Richter, shows this feeling for her country in "Accents of the West" and "Shadows on the Sandias"; Ethel Cheney in "Turquoise Spring" and "Revanant"; Maude Davis Crosno in "Autumn at Taos"; and Norman Macleod in "Yet Autumn Mournfully," and "Coniferous," a poem of the Petrified Forest. Arthur Davison Ficke has written the hills above the sunset, the golden yellow of aspen groves into lyrics.

Most Southwest poetry portrays country life as the good life in spite of drouth and storm. The pictorial aspects are exalted. Fay Yauger is in revolt against this idealistic school of rural poetry. "Planter's Charm," in the volume to which it gives the title, is a strong, fine poem of tenant farm life which received the first award of The Poetry Society of America in 1935. "Desert Born" and "County Fair," too, are fine poems.

Irene Carlyle, in *Music by Lamplight* (1945), also writes realistically of the country, usually Ozark rural life. The dazed farmer in "Country Auction" who watches "his provident years . . . carted away in bits" is a portrait of Everyman in his first moment of incomprehensible defeat. "Sonnets to Strength" retells the age old conflict between the farmer and the farmer's wife and the contrariness of the weather. As a riveter in a war plant in the dark and din under her hood, Mrs. Carlyle continued to make poems, one called "The Welder."

Fania Kruger writes out of the agonies of her race, the Russian Jews. *Cossack Laughter* (1937) contains poems of the Czarist Russia she knew in her youth, and of the Jew in America. Her verse has a more agonizing cry than Southwest poetry has before known. Like Fay Yauger she belongs to the active Wichita Falls Manuscript Club. She, too, received a first award (1946) of the Poetry Society of America. "Pass-over Eve," her award poem, is of a Jewish family in this land of refuge revisited at their feast table by their sons who have "fallen in an alien land . . . that men be free . . . the air be sweet with peace."

There has been very little poetry in the Southwest about

the Negro. A few romantic poems by Whitney Montgomery as "The Cotton Picker's Song," a slight volume by a Texas Negro, Mason Brewer, called *Negrito*, and a volume *Free Steppin'* by Kate McAlpin Crady. Mrs. Crady, who grew up on a Mississippi Delta plantation, knows her Negro psychology and idiom and writes with pathos and humor.

In the mid-nineteenth century in England and America, poetry came to be used primarily as a social and moral instrument. This social earnestness in poetry has been almost skipped in the Southwest. Marina Wister Dasburgh, the daughter of Owen Wister, has employed certain social themes in *Fantasy and Fugue* (1937), as has Margaret Page Hood in such poems as "Knitting." Thomas Wood Stevens in a long dramatic poem *Westward Under Vega* (1938) in combination blank verse and lyrics recounts the trip of a young couple, John and April, across the continent from Washington, D. C., to Santa Fe in a topless Ford. The love of the two and their reaction to the socio-economic scene are the themes. Witter Bynner, primarily a lyricist, in *Take Away the Darkness* (1947) speaks "Words on Public Affairs" with a new awareness of political, economic, and social evils. More poetry of this type will probably come. But with a few exceptions in the Southwest today we have the old romanticism, a glorification of the past and of Nature, in traditional patterns; and twentieth century neo-romanticism, which largely takes the form of sharp appeal to the senses and neo-primitivism, in new experimental rhythms.

John Gould Fletcher, a native of Little Rock, through experience a cosmopolite, who in his maturity has returned home in body and soul, is an example of the neo-romantic.<sup>3</sup> He was one of the original group of Imagists when the school was born in London before World War I under the tutelage of Amy Lowell. They espoused freedom of form, *vers libre*, and the concrete and sensory. Intellectual concepts were conveyed chiefly by implication. Moralizing was taboo. In his poems about the Southwest, many of which are included in his *Selected Poems* (1938), Mr. Fletcher utilizes the powerful appeal to the senses of the modern. "Down the Mississippi" is made up of unforgettable images that etch themselves into the mind. "Mexican Quarter" gets its effects from sharp contrasts, the

3. See his autobiography, *Life is My Song* (1937).



smell of a dead horse mingled with the smell of tamales frying, a mangy dog, a girl in a black shawl, the explosion of the stars, and Juan stringing a brown guitar—realism and romanticism. In "Burning Mountain," a legend of the Santa Fe Trail, the red sandstone pyramid "reaching to the sky" is the constant before which move the kaleidoscope of Comanche and buffalo, creaking wagon trains, longhorns and cowboys. This poem gives the title to Mr. Fletcher's 1946 volume.

Witter Bynner, too, is a citizen of the world. A native of New York, he finds refuge from urban, standardized civilization in an adobe house in Santa Fe fitted with Indian and Oriental objects of art. Their easy juxtaposition suggests to one without the aid of ethnologists that the two came from a common art world. Witter Bynner writes of many things, and well. His "Dance for Rain at Cochiti" is one of the most effective poems in theme and expression the Southwest has produced. Significant for the region is his feeling for the movement of Indian and Mexican life in their psychology, dancing, and religion. *Indian Earth* (1929) ranks among his best poetry.

Spud Johnson recreates the world of the primitive worship of nature in poems like "Taos Dance" and "Morning of the First Spring" in his book *Horizontal Yellow* (1935). But he shows, also, contrasts between the worlds of Indian and White Man in such poems as "Patricio Came" and "Poppies." There are fine personal observations in "Half Bracelet," "Mountain Parting," and a rhapsody of memories and impressions in the longer poem "Yellow."

In Arizona, Edward Doro in *The Boar and Shibboleth* employs "fantastic symbolism and music that is unforgettable." The subject matter is not of the Southwest nor any other place.

Mary Austin treats Indian life in the cadences of Indian verse in what she called "re-expressions" in her *American Rhythm* (1923). How much is Indian and how much the mystic "I-Mary" is impossible to tell. Indeed, how much is Mary, wise in folk ways, and how much the children who are purported to have made the poems in *The Children Sing in the Far West* (1928)? Ina Cassidy, also, has translated Indian poetry successfully in *The House of the Sky*.<sup>4</sup> Herbert Joseph

4. For other effective translations of Indian poetry that have intrinsic poetic merit see Natalie Curtis Burlin's *The Indian's Book* and the references in the section of this book on "Myth, Legend, and Song of the Indian."

Spinden has prefaced his *Songs of the Tewa* with an illuminating essay on the aesthetic point of view of the Indian. Ruth Underhill in *Singing for Power* (1938) has translated as literally as possible "the song magic of the Papago Indians." A dominant theme of these Indian poems of the arid lands is a prayer for rain "to make the corn and children grow."

"Gray Roadster" by Paul Eldridge of Oklahoma stands out as one of the few poems of the ironic tragedy of the Indian in contact with the white man's machine civilization. D. Maitland Bushby of Arizona also pictures this incongruity in "Indian Side Show" and "Yo-Tan-E-Ke." In addition to his poems on Indian life, Bushby, the best known poet of Arizona, writes of the desert in bold colors.

The Spanish American has influenced Southwest poetry in English less than has the Indian. Alice Corbin in her two books of poetry, *Red Earth* and *The Sun Turns West*, has a number of sympathetic interpretations of Spanish life, among them "Old Juan Quintana," the picture of a goat-herd; "Cundiyo," the sketch of three black-shawled women each holding a sorrow to her breast; "El Coyotito," a poem of love and prison, rephrased from the Spanish. Mrs. Henderson (Alice Corbin) as co-founder of *Poetry, A Magazine of Verse*, in 1918, has known most of the major figures in modern American poetry. Coming to New Mexico in 1921, she established a Poets' Round-Up which was held annually in Santa Fe for a number of years each spring. Ina Sizer Cassidy also writes sympathetically of the native people in her Penitente poem "Crosses." Charles Bechtol in "Old Tucson" sings a love poem to a Spanish girl within a 'dobe wall.

Fray Angelico Chavez, himself a Spanish American, writes with simple effectiveness about his own people in "Southwestern Night," "Who Pass by the Way" and "Peña Blanca," his town. He is reminiscent of William Blake with Biblical images employed unexpectedly, often whimsically, in "Cherub," "Trees," "Stigmata of Saint Francis." Often in his poems Palestine and New Mexico are as one. His first volume was entitled *Clothed with the Sun* (1939). The later books, *Eleven Lady-Lyrics* (1945) and *The Single Rose* (1948) are in the vein of the great mystical writers of Spain, yet the language is English, and thus are fused the elements of more than one literary tradition.

A recurring motif in the poetry of the far Southwest is the timelessness of Nature, the antiquity of Indian and Spanish civilization in the region, and the recentness of the white man in this old land, together with the briefness of individual life. The poet looks at a rock covered with inscriptions, a piece of ancient pottery, the dim painting of hands in a cave, a circle of trees where a house has been and no house is, an age old road and writes of the twin deities, Permanence and Evanescence. Such poems are the terse "Pasó Por Aquí" and "Bowl on a Shelf" by William Haskell Simpson; Margaret Pond Church's "Los Santos"; Alice Corbin Henderson's "El Rito de Santa Fe" and "Indian Earth"; and Mary Austin's "Campo Santo at San Juan."

Haniel Long is not content merely to put into sharp contrast the beautiful and the ugly or the ancient and the new as details seize on the ear, the eye, the nostrils. All of these must first be sifted through the poet's mind, not merely screened on his senses. He gropes for significances, reaches beyond physical perception into the metaphysical. His narrative poem *Malinche* (1939) is a study of the gifts which a woman from the New World made to a leader of men from the Old World, gifts which made possible a conquest, a civilizing, an enslavement. The shorter poems in his earlier volume *Atlantides* (1933) are as clear in their imagery and as sure in their phrasing as the lyric-epigrams by Chinese poets whom he has widely read.

Many of the best known contemporary American writers and a few British have come to the Southwest to visit or for a longer sojourn and written poems in response to the dramatic quality of its scenery and history. Amy Lowell in "Texas" in jingling rimes writes of "cowboys perched on forty-dollar saddles." Carl Sandburg in "Santa Fe Sketches" does more than "sniff with the tourists" in the Museum; he senses that "when a city picks a valley—and a valley picks a city—it is a marriage—and there are children." In "The Santa Fe Trail" Vachel Lindsay shouts of the automobiles racing with strident horns along Highway 50 and whispers the sweet voice of the Rachel Jane singing of "love and glory, stars and rain." When he sees the Indians "dancing for a Babbit Jamboree" his anger rises "like high tide in the sea." Alfred Kreymborg in "Indian Sky" sees the old squaw, her bowl, and the earth in perfect harmony.

Harriet Monroe in "At O'Neill's Point" salute Cardenas, the buccaneering Spaniard, who "three centuries before the next white man" stood on the "rim of the world" and looked down into the Grand Canyon. Edna St. Vincent Millay in "Pueblo Pot" bending mournfully over lovely broken shards is solaced by the beauty of living birds. Robinson Jeffers in his unforgettable poem "Hands" writes of the prehistoric handpaintings on cave walls: "We also were human, we had hands not paws." Thomas Hornsby Ferril pens stirring words for New Mexico in "Nocturne at Noon—1605." Katherine Garrison Chapin in her volume *Plain Chant for America* in five poems commemorates the New Mexican landscape. Edgar Lee Masters weaves the colonial history of the Southwest into his long poem *The New World*. In the last lines he asks:

To what good end has the New World come  
Superior to the good that Indians kept unchanged?

Willa Cather, in Santa Fe writing *Death Comes to the Archbishop*, makes a ballad "Spanish Johnny." The English novelist John Galsworthy upon entering Santa Fe puts his longing for the scent and the drip of rain into "Desert Song." Jan Struther, of *Mrs. Miniver* fame, in *Travelling America* journeying through New England, the Old South, the Middle West is ever reminded of her English hills, meadows, and streams. Reaching the Southwest she says,

But here, in the Southwest, opening my eyes on  
Vermilion mesas rising from painted sands,  
I have found at last a land with a new horizon,  
A land which holds no echoes of other lands. . . .

Silence, and sun, and sand. The lizards flicker.  
Ghostly and restless rolls the tumbleweed.  
The eyes that gaze from the scattered huts of wicker  
Are the secret eyes of an ancient and secret breed.

This is a country of dream, a world enchanted,  
Improbable, fantastic, a wild release.  
Here, and here alone, I can walk unhaunted.  
I shall stay here long. Strangeness, at last, brings peace.<sup>5</sup>

5. *Atlantic Monthly* CLXX (Oct. 1942), pp. 56-57. Reprinted in *A Pocketful of Pebbles* (1946), by Jan Struther, pp. 5-6.

## VI

### DRAMA

Civilization from its outset in the Southwest had a place for dramatic entertainments. Religion here among Indian tribes was associated with pageantry and ceremony. The Spanish brought with them feast days and fiestas and even folk plays of the religious type. Such a dance as *El Jarabe Tapatía*, the most popular Spanish dance in the region, is really a little dance drama in itself, telling the story of the courtship of the rooster and the hen, the *charro* and his sweetheart. Simple isolated societies make their own drama as they fashion their own garments—out of the materials at hand to suit their own needs.<sup>1</sup> Later on, as folk cultures are merged in a specialized civilization, professionals write the plays and professional producers stage them in commercial theatres. There are records of Mexican puppet shows in New Mexico during the nineteenth century.<sup>2</sup> The peoples in the region with Spanish background were thoroughly receptive to the theatre, yet aside from the pure materials that go to make up theatre, such as the ceremonial dances and fiesta shows, professional plays and acting were almost non-existent in the Southwest before the Anglo-American occupation.

Inevitably Anglo-American dramatic activity has been influenced by the American theatre, that is, by New York and the eastern cities. From early times show companies followed the routes of travel to the frontier.<sup>3</sup> Magicians, minstrels, and circuses vied with the drama proper for support. For example, during the Republic of Texas traveling entertainers appeared in Houston, Galveston, Corpus Christi, and other towns. "Houston's first dramatic season was launched on the eleventh of June, 1838, with . . . the presentation of Sheridan Knowles's comedy *The Hunchback*. . . . The performance came to an end

1. See sections on "Indian Myth, Legend, and Song," and "Spanish Folk Dramas, Songs, and Narratives."

2. "Los Titeres," *Spanish Folk Ways*. Federal Writers' Project, Vol. I, No. 2.

3. W. G. B. Carson, *The Theatre on the Frontier* (1932).

with a popular farce, *The Dumb Belle, or I'm Perfection*." <sup>4</sup> Many ambitious actors barnstormed in Texas before the Civil War, among them seventeen-year-old Joseph Jefferson and his mother. An equally precocious dramatic activity manifested itself fifty years later when the frontier pushed farther west. Tombstone, Arizona, a typical mining center in the eighties, was a good show town, supporting the famous Bird Cage Variety Theatre where semicomical singers, Irish comedians, acrobats and jugglers were presented as well as full-blown comedies. At Schiefflin Hall, where more serious drama was offered, a partial list of productions given between 1881 and 1918 shows nearly three hundred titles, beginning with *Kathleen Mavourneen* and ending with *As You Like It*.<sup>5</sup> In approximately the same period, that is, from 1880 to 1910, towns in New Mexico like Santa Fe, Albuquerque, and Roswell had playhouses in which traveling troupes of actors produced such plays as "Leah the Forsaken" and "Fanchon the Cricket."<sup>6</sup>

In addition to professional performances of drama, amateur actors have been active in the Southwest from early times. By 1840, Texas newspapers were praising the efforts of "Thespian Societies" at Matagorda and Houston,<sup>7</sup> and within a generation San Antonio nourished a group of local actors directed by the mayor. Later frontier theatres such as the ones in Tombstone were supported by a strong amateur tradition.

Conventional amateur productions, however, interest only a small portion of any frontier community. The people amuse themselves with robust, out-of-doors entertainments. In much of the Southwest these have been riding matches, tournaments, and "bull-tailings." "In the rodeo, the Wild West show, and the 'Frontier Day' celebrations now presented annually throughout the West," asserts Winifred Johnston, "America has made a unique contribution to the major entertainments of the world."<sup>8</sup> The rodeo, she explains, is primarily a contest; the Wild West show is a commercial organization for the display of frontier

4. W. R. Hogan, "The Theatre in the Republic of Texas," *Southwest Review*, XIX (July, 1934), 383-84.

5. Clair E. Willson, *Mimes and Miners, A Historical Study of the Theatre in Tombstone*, University of Arizona Bulletin, VI (October, 1935).

6. Hazel Vineyard, "Trails of the Troupers." Unpublished M.A. Thesis, University of New Mexico, 1941.

7. Hogan, *op. cit.*, p. 375.

8. "Cow-Country Theatre," *Southwest Review*, XVIII (Autumn, 1932), 10.

activities; the "Frontier Days" is distinctly an entertainment. All three are marked by the speed and syncopation characteristic of our nation. These developments of the people's drama, together with the "western" movie, interpret one phase of American life to the rest of the world.

In the years immediately following World War I, the economic, social, and artistic pace of the Southwest was greatly accelerated. The region, long remote from the Atlantic seaboard, was caught up into the rhythm of modern life. An example of this synchronizing is the Little Theatre Movement which flourished from about 1918 to 1931. In most of the urban centers and many small towns, eager amateurs produced plays for which they supplied the scenery and costumes as well as the actors and direction. Beginning with one-act plays, they undertook current Broadway hits, foreign masterpieces, costume revivals, and occasionally original compositions. Among the hardiest of the Southwestern little theatres have been those at Dallas (the Little Theatre of Dallas and the Oak Cliff Little Theatre), Albuquerque, Amarillo, San Antonio, Tulsa, Oklahoma City, Fort Worth, Carlsbad, Phoenix, Tucson, El Paso, the Green Mask Players of Houston, and the Santa Fe Players. Robert Nail with his original Christmas plays and annual historical *Fandangle* has made the little West Texas town, Albany, a dramatic center for a large ranching area. His play *Black Is the Color* was given its première at Hardin-Simmons University in the spring of 1948. Important work has been accomplished at all of the state universities and at many of the other colleges and universities.<sup>9</sup>

A little theatre should discover and foster local playwrights as well as actors and scene-shifters, but it does so much more rarely. The Southwest has produced a creditable number of native dramas for its local players, but, being remote from New York, has contributed few successful vehicles to Broadway.

*Judge Lynch*, by John William Rogers, Texas dramatic critic, won the first Belasco Cup Prize in 1925 when it was

9. See "Points of View," *Southwest Review*, XVII (Summer, 1932), 483-89; V. S. Albertson, "The Green Mask Players," *Southwest Review*, XVI (Winter, 1931), 164-77; John Rosenfeld, "The Southwest Amuses Itself," *Southwest Review*, XVI (Spring, 1931), 277-89; John W. Rogers, "Little Theatres and Indigenous Plays," *Southwest Review*, XVII (Summer, 1932), 477-82; Norris Houghton, "Drama at the Crossroads," *Atlantic Monthly*, 168 (November, 1941), 596-604.

presented by the Dallas Little Theatre under the direction of Oliver Hinsdell. It is a bold arraignment of racial injustices to the Negro, almost too powerful for a little theatre one-act play. Rogers has also written *Bumblepuppy*, *Westward People*, and other plays. The Belasco Cup for the next year was awarded to Margaret Larkin's *El Cristo*, based on the Penitentes rites of native New Mexicans. This moving one-act play is the tragedy of José, chosen to be El Cristo, who defies his destiny. In 1942 a volume called *Three Southwest Plays* was published with an introduction by John Rosenfield. It contains Sam Acheson's *We Are Besieged*, a tense dramatization of the defense and fall of the Alamo; John William Roger's *Where the Dear Antelope Play*, an amusing satire on women culture-seekers; and Kathleen Witherspoon's *Jute*,<sup>10</sup> an indictment of social cruelty to the Negro. Each of these is a three-act play.

Perhaps the most important play to choose the Southwest as a setting and Southwestern events for a plot is Maxwell Anderson's *Night over Taos* (1932). This well written poetic drama deals with the conflict between two civilizations during the American occupation. The central figure in the play is Pablo Montoya, a leader in the Taos rebellion of 1847. During the action of the play, Montoya battles against the American troops only to discover that at home both his sons have betrayed him. The older son has made a deal with the Americans and the younger has fallen in love with a young maiden in the household, whom the father had selected for his own bride. In the tragic downfall of the personal empire of Montoya, the hardy virtues of feudalism disappear along with the iron-clad paternalism and slavery. *Night over Taos* was first presented by the Group Theatre in New York, but between 1932 and 1947, the play has been produced by community playhouses and university groups all over the country. In the Southwest, there have been productions at the University of New Mexico and at Texas Christian University.

The most successful Southwestern playwright on Broadway is Lynn Riggs of Oklahoma and New Mexico. In 1925 his one-act *Knives from Syria* was presented by the Santa Fe Players, and in 1927 the American Laboratory Theatre gave

10. *Jute* and *We Are Besieged* had first appeared in *Southwest Review*, XVI (Spring, 1931), 385-436; XXVII (Autumn, 1941), 1-95, respectively.



*Big Lake*. His first nationally known drama was *Green Grow the Lilacs*, produced in 1931 by the Theatre Guild, which took it on tour. This full length play of Oklahoma rural life is enhanced by the songs of a cowboy chorus which link the acts in a rhythmic continuity. *Green Grow the Lilacs* became the basis for the musical play, *Oklahoma*, with lyrics by Oscar Hammerstein and music by Richard Rodgers and dances by Agnes de Mille. *Russet Mantle*, also by Lynn Riggs, was produced in New York in 1936. It deals with a group of sophisticates in Santa Fe. Amid the comedy of their strivings, a youth and a girl, symbols of freedom, break through artificial conventions to seek a new world. "An odd and strangely haunting beauty permeates Riggs' work," according to Barrett H. Clark, who counts him a significant dramatist of folk materials.<sup>11</sup>

Pauline Williams, who began her playwriting at Rodey Theatre of the University of New Mexico, has seen three of her plays in production at East and West playhouses. "Accidentally Yours" completed a successful run in the spring and summer of 1947, with Billie Burke as the feminine lead.

Several Southwestern writers, already well known in other fields, have essayed drama. Paul Horgan, New Mexico novelist, who was at one time on the production staff of the Rochester (N. Y.) Opera Company, wrote the libretto for a folk opera entitled *A Tree on the Plains*.<sup>12</sup> The music is by Ernst Bacon. This work was given its premiere on May 2, 1942, at Spartanburg, South Carolina. On May 5, 1943, it was produced in New York by the Columbia Theatre Associates and the University's Department of Music with the same soloist who had created the leading role the year before. Philip Stevenson, another New Mexico author, who won the Theatre Union's nation-wide contest in 1934 with *God's in His Heaven*, has published and presented several other plays, including one on Billy the Kid.

Recent years have seen an increasing number of successful Southwestern novels made into films by Hollywood. A complete list would be lengthy and the result of long investigation. A partial list is suggestive and will point to fields of interest which American audiences have viewed from the writing of

11. See also Henry Roth, "Lynn Riggs and the Individual," *Folk-Say*, II (1930).

12. The libretto was published in *Southwest Review*, XXVIII (Summer, 1943), 345-376.

novelists in this area: Conrad Richter's "The Sea of Grass," from the novel by that title; George Sessions Perry's "The Southerner" from *Hold Autumn in Your Hand*; Eugene Manlove Rhodes' "Four Faces West," from the novelette *Pasó Por Aquí*; Dorothy B. Hughes' "Ride the Pink Horse" from the mystery novel by the same name.

Dramatic activity in the Southwest, then, is of many kinds and springs from many sources. The Indians dance for rain and the Spanish-Americans celebrate Christmas with *Los Pastores*. Histrionic cowboys in red silk shirts ride the broncos of the sawdust ring. Little theatres produce plays and playwrights. Meanwhile thriving cities support one-night stands of last year's Pulitzer Prize plays and even opera, while the ubiquitous movies flash in glowing signs the names of the newest Hollywood stars. Whether for worship or entertainment, for fashion or creative expression, the Southwest likes a good show.

## VII

### LITERATURE FOR CHILDREN

There was a close relationship between the work of folklorists and the first writing of juveniles in the Southwest. A reading audience among children developed for fiction with Southwestern themes and background before it developed among older readers. The writers of juveniles explored the Indian and Spanish backgrounds to provide stories for eastern as well as western readers in the early 1900's, whereas the novel as a form for older minds did not truly flourish until after 1925. A survey of the children's books, therefore, has an added significance for this region. Much of the finest material for creative writing in the Southwest was first assayed by the writers of juveniles.

A kind of pioneer in the field was Mary Austin's *The Basket Woman* (1904), a book of Indian tales written especially for children and incorporating the lore of the Indians of California. The Basket Woman is an old Indian who does the washing for a white family. She carries wood for fires in a big basket, the size of which terrifies the little boy of the household whose mind is filled with vague ideas of Indian secrecy and cruelty. He finally is won by the kindness of the Basket Woman, who saves his life when he wanders off into the desert in search of a merry-go-round in the air, really buzzards wheeling over a dead animal. Mrs. Austin's *The Trail Book* (1918) is a juvenile in the manner of Rudyard Kipling's *The Jungle Book*. In her plot, she brings alive the stuffed animals in a museum. The two children of the caretaker hear stories about a coyote, a puma, a chaparral cock called "the road runner," a condor, and others.

Although Ernest Thompson Seton did not make his permanent home in the Southwest until 1930, he had lived here in the 1890's and one of his early stories concerns a giant leader of a pack of gray wolves that ravaged a valley in northern New Mexico. It was five years before the old outlaw succumbed to the traps and lassos of the cowboys. This story,

"Lobo, King of the Currumpaw" appears in Seton's *Wild Animals I Have Known* (1898, 1942) which was reissued a number of times, the last while the author was living at Seton Village near Santa Fe. Here Ernest Thompson Seton established headquarters for his Woodcraft League of America and his School of Indian Wisdom. Hundreds of boys visited this center of Indian and American folklore before Mr. Seton died in 1946. As a writer of books for young America, Ernest Thompson Seton will be long remembered.

The Indian world, with its colorful ceremonies, outdoor life, and nature lore has always had a strong appeal for young people, since their minds more readily accept the wonder and miracle of nature than do the minds of adults. The child is not a skeptic; the world is still a place full of puzzles to him, and the Indians' explanations and reactions are full of charm and color, not to be scoffed at.

Elizabeth Willis DeHuff was one of a group of writers in the 1920's who introduced Indian lore and customs to young readers. In her preface to *Tay Tay's Tales* (1922), she tells how she collected the stories for her own daughter. The first tales were gotten by chance from a young Indian boy who turned out to be an artist as well. He was Fred Kabotie, a Hopi lad who drew the pictures and colored them in accord with Indian conceptions and in the Indian style of painting. Mrs. DeHuff refers to earlier collections of Pueblo tales, such as those made by John M. Gunn in *Schat-Chen* (1904) and Charles F. Lummis in *Pueblo Indian Folk-Stories* (1894, 1910). As a writer trained to adapt material to the child's point of view, Elizabeth DeHuff was notably successful in this volume, and in those she wrote in succeeding years: *Tay Tay's Memories* (1924), *Five Little Katchinas* (1930), *Two Little Hopi* (1936), *Hoppity Bunny's Hop* (1939), and *Little-Boy-Dance* (1946).

A number of the books for children portray the life of Indian young people as well as give the stories told to them by their elders. Such are Grace Moon's *Chi-Wee* (1925), *Chi-Wee and Loki of the Desert*, and later books; James Schultzs's *A Son of the Navajos* (1926); Eileen Nusbaum's *Deric With the Indians* (1927), Ahlee James' *Tewa Fire-light Tales* (1927); Alida Sims Malkus' *The Dragon Fly of*

Zuñi (1928); and Florence C. Coolidge's *Little Ugly Face and Other Indian Tales* (1929). A group of volumes to make Indian crafts and songs available to young Anglos are *Sign Talk* (1918) by Ernest Thompson Seton; *Boys' Games among the North American Indians* (1924) by Edith Stow; *The Book of Indian Crafts and Indian Lore* (1928) by Julian H. Salomon. Very few of the books deal with the prehistoric past of the Indians. One such title is *Lolami, The Little Cliff Dweller* (1901) by Clara Kern Bayliss.

Probably unique, because it is the work both of an Indian writer and of Indian illustrators, is Louise Abeita's *I Am a Pueblo Indian Girl* (1939). This book of poems and sketches about Indian life was called by Oliver La Large "a first tentative step" of literature about Indian culture written by Indians: "It crosses a threshold till now deemed forever closed."

Books on modern Southwest Indians stress the theme of understanding the Indian and overcoming the prejudices drawn from the past relations between Indians and Whites. Such books as Laura Adams Armer's *Waterless Mountain* (1931) and *Dark Circle of Branches* (1933) show how Navajo boys are taught dignity and reverence along with the normal Indian games and sports of youth. Mrs. Armer's story is the only book about the Southwest to win the Newberry Award as "the most distinguished" children's book of the year. Dorothy Childs Hogner's *Navajo Winter Nights* (1935) is one of the best books containing legends and folktales because of its variety and clear style. Mrs. Hogner's *The Education of a Burro* (1936) is also distinguished for its readable quality, plus wisdom and humor. Mary and Conrad Buff's *Dancing Cloud* (1937) tells how, years ago, Kit Carson captured the Navajos and how the United States allowed them to return to their old home. Eva L. Butler's *Two Little Navajos Dip Their Sheep* (1937) is a well written story, using a very simple vocabulary in telling of the fears of a little Navajo girl as she watches her pet sheep being dipped. Isis L. Harrington, for many years a teacher in Indian schools, has written stories of both Pueblo and Navajo children. In *Nah-le-Kah-de (He Herds Sheep)* (1937), she gives a short glossary of Navajo words. *Told in the Twilight* (1938), includes a group of poems called "Navajo Mother Goose Rhymes" with stories.

A number of the books about Indian children treat of the reluctance of Indian parents to send the children away to American schools and of the difficulties of the boys and girls when they arrive at school and after they return to their homes. In Eda Lou Walton's *Turquoise Boy and White Shell Girl* (1933) the mother and father hide the twins whenever the school officials appear, telling them they have no children. The little girl, Carrie, in Rutherford Montgomery's *The Mystery of the Turquoise Frog* (1946) was scorned by her uncle because he did not like her ways after she returned from school. In Anna Nolan Clark's *The Little Navajo Bluebird* (1943), the family dreads the evil of school so much that they hold a big chant accompanied by a sandpainting ceremony to keep Hobah, who is going away to school, from evil.

This theme, however, is absent from several of the recent books of Indian life. Anna Nolan Clark says of her book, *In My Mother's House* (1941) that it was "written to answer the need for books with the Indian point of view. . . . Indian children helped make the book, helped write the short sentences that read like free verse." A Cochiti Pueblo Indian boy, Velino Herrera, illustrated the book. Her *Little Navajo Bluebird* (1943) is tenderly charming without being sentimental. *Dusty Desert Tales* (1941) by Richard Summers emphasizes the different Indian tribes and their various customs. Many Americans do not recognize that Indians differ as much as do Englishmen and Frenchmen or other European groups.

Few books, unfortunately, have been written to acquaint children with the Woodland and Plains Tribes of the Southwest. In 1941 Margaret Alison Johansen told the story of a Tejas Indian boy in *Hawk of Hawk Clan*. In 1947 Alice Marriott, author of *The Ten Grandmothers*, a history of the Kiowas for grown-ups, put her knowledge of the life and legends of this tribe into an entertaining book for the young reader. *Winter-Telling Stories* (1947), illustrated skillfully by a Kiowa, Roland Whitehorse, tells the sometimes heroic, sometimes humorous exploits of Saynday, a demigod.

Children's books portraying the Spanish way of life in the Southwest have not been so numerous as the stories about Indians. Such books as Covelle Newcomb's *Cortez, the Conqueror* (1947); Camilla Campbell's *Galleons Sail Westward*

(1939), the tale of Cabeza de Vaca; and Cornelia James Cannon's *The Pueblo Boy; A Story of Coronado's Search for the Seven Cities of Cibola* (1926); and *The Fight for the Pueblo; The Story of Oñate's Expedition and the Founding of Santa Fe* combine the history of European exploration and conquest with the Indian life that the Spanish found. Margaret Ann Hubbard in *Seraphina Todd* (1941) makes San Antonio, a Spanish town in an Indian territory, live again in the 1770's. James Willard Schultz deals with these early Spanish adventures in *The Trail of the Spanish Horse* (1922).

Stories employing Spanish-American folklore and customs make a strong appeal to children, whether of Spanish or Anglo heritage. The young readers of Nina Otero's *Old Spain in Our Southwest* (1936) learn what early schools were like in the Spanish Southwest, how young couples carried on courtship and at last were married with ceremony, feasting, and a *baile*. They learn of treasure hunting and the miracles of the saints. In Camilla Campbell's *Star Mountain* (1946) they read the beautiful Mexican legends of the "Virgin of Guadalupe," the "Sleeping Woman of the Snows," "El Niño de la Panelita," and many others.

Florence C. Means in *Adella Mary in Old Mexico* (1930) introduces both the reader and the little English girl of the story to the fascination of a land with scenery and customs like Spain. Charlotte Baker in *Necessary Nellie* (1946) and *Nellie and the Mayor's Hat* (1947) tells stories of small Mexicans.

Animal stories always delight children. For the small child there is Loyd Tireman's Mesaland Series, called "a child's library of the wild life of the mesa." Characters in the books are jackrabbits, prairie dogs, road runners, and their animal neighbors. So far, the following titles have appeared: *Baby Jack and Jumping Jack Rabbit* (1943), *Hop-A-Long* (1944), *Dumbee* (1945), *Cocky* (1946), and *Big Fat* (1947). *The Little Valley Quail* (1945) by Emilie and G. A. Toepperwein pleases both the child and the adult who reads it to him. A favorite animal with children in the Southwest is the burro. He is a patient, sleepy-eyed little beast who can be made to carry wood for the fireplace or children to a fiesta. In 1936, Margaret Pond Church wrote *The Burro of Angelitos*, a charming story of the pet owned by a little Spanish boy in a village near

Santa Fe. Barbara Latham's book, *Pedro, Nina and Perrita* (1939), illustrated by the author, concerns the same world of pets and children's values in a Spanish village of the upper Rio Grande. Many of the poems in Mary Austin's *The Children Sing in the Far West* (1928) draw upon animal lore for themes.

Juveniles about Anglo-American life in the Southwest take the pioneer figures of forest and trail for their heroes. Some of these books are *Christopher Carson, Known as Kit Carson* (1901) by John S. C. Abbot; *The Boy's Life of Kit Carson* (1929) by Flora Warren Seymour; *General Crook and the Fighting Apaches* (1918) and *Old Jim Bridger on the Moccasin Trail* (1928) by Edwin L. Sabin; *The Pony Express Goes Through; An American Saga Told by Its Heroes* (1935) by William A. Jackson. Many of the short tales of true adventures compiled by Oliver G. Swan in *Covered Wagon Days* (1928) are of the Southwest.

Texas is the scene for most Anglo literature for young people, as New Mexico and Arizona supplied settings for most of the juveniles about Indian and Spanish life. An interesting combination of all of the traditions is found in one of the earliest juveniles written about the region, a book published in 1878 and written by one Thomas Pilgrim. It was called *Live Boys: or Charley and Nasho in Texas, A Narrative Relating to Two Boys of Fourteen, One a Texan, the Other a Mexican: Showing Their Life on the Cattle Trail, and their Adventures in Indian Territory, Kansas, and Northern Texas: Embracing Many Thrilling Adventures*. The reference to Indian Territory brings Oklahoma into the field as a setting for juveniles. But Texas appears early and continues as the favorite locale for adventure books for boys. J. C. Duval's *Early Times in Texas or the Adventures of Jack Dobell* (1892), which has been discussed earlier, was written for young readers, as Duval announces in his preface. It concerns the Fannin Expedition that ended in 1836 at Goliad. The hero is the nineteen year old Duval, himself, who escapes the massacre and wanders across the deserted countryside, dodging the enemy and living by his wits. Duval also wrote a sequel, *The Young Explorers: or, Continuation of the Adventures of Jack Dobell* (1892), Duval's better known book is *Big-Foot Wallace* (1870) about



his friend, the noted Indian fighter and Texas Ranger, and the hero of many a tall tale. This, too, the author considered a juvenile on the basis of its lack of "style or literary merit." Duval's books are good reading for adults as well as older-age boys.

Tall tales of folk heroes, animal and human, continue to delight boys and girls. Leigh Peck in *Don Coyote* (1942) tells of the wily animal hero of Southwestern lore, and in *Pecos Bill and Lightning* (1940) of the mythical cowboy and his pony. Irwin Shapiro in *John Henry and the Double Jointed Steam Drill* (1945) adapts the lusty stories of the mighty Negro for juvenile readers.

A small avalanche of "series" books appeared on the Texas prairies between 1910 and 1915. Two *Little Colonel* books by Annie Fellows Johnson had the Southwest for their settings, *Mary Ware in Texas* being one of them. The other was *Little Colonel in Arizona*. The *Bluebonnet* series came into being in 1910. Stratmeyer did a boy's series on Texas. And Joseph Altsheler wrote *Texan Star*, *Texan Triumph*, and *Texan Scout* for publication dates in 1912 and 1913. These three Altsheler books are still on standard lists. Andy Adams wrote two juveniles, *Wells Brothers* (1911) and *Ranch on the Beaver* (1927). Three recent books of ranch life are *I Want to Be a Cowboy* (1947) by Emilie and Fritz Toepperwein for small would-be-cowboys of both sexes; and *Let the Coyote Howl* (1946) by Samuel D. Bogan, and *Sancho of the Long, Long Horns* (1947) by Allan Bosworth for older boys.

Two excellent children's books came out as a prelude to the Texas Centennial. The first was Bessie James's *Six-Foot-Six* (1931), a children's version of Marquis James's *The Raven*. Frances Clarke Sayers' *Bluebonnets for Lucinda* (1934) is one of the first really artistic Texas books in the juvenile field. Many of the books the Texas Centennial brought forth for children were of textbook type.

In 1940, five children's books out of Texas made their way from national publishers' presses, won favorable critical appraisal in national magazines, and made a place for themselves in permanent lists of recommended books. These books realize fully the scope of the material in reading interest and values for young people. They are Gertrude Crownfield's

*Lone Star Rising*, Le Grand Henderson's *Augustus Goes South*, Eric P. Kelly's *On the Staked Plain*, Siddle Joe Johnson's *Debby*, and Janette Sebring Lowrey's *Silver Dollar*.

Two books published in 1943 brought to children the history and geography of Texas in story and pictures. *Texas the Land of the Tejas* by Siddle Joe Johnson, illustrated by Fanita Lanier, is easy, pleasurable history. *Seeing Texas* by Ileta Kerr Ladd takes a child on a happy trip through the big state. In 1947 Leah Carter Johnson chose the most colorful city of Texas for a story-history guide-book called *San Antonio, St. Anthony's Town*.

After the success of *Debby* drawn from her own childhood on the Gulf, Miss Johnson wrote *New Town in Texas* (1942) from the stories of her father and aunts. In *Cathy* (1945) she returned to the scenes of her own growing-up, and of the two wars that she had known. These books are for what Miss Johnson calls "middle-aged" girls, the girls who are of the age for *Little Women*.

Miss Johnson, who reviews the children's books for the *Dallas Morning News*, considers Janette Sebring Lowrey of San Antonio the finest children's writer of Texas. Mrs. Lowrey creates stories of fantasy for the imaginative child, the type of child who likes Hans Christian Anderson. Among her long list of books, besides the *Silver Dollar*, which are of special interest to Southwestern children are *Annunciata and the Shepherds* (1938) and *The Bird* (1947).

Nancy Paschal, pseudonym for Grace Trotter of Dallas, writes novels for a slightly older age group. *Clover Creek* (1946) with its lore of flowers, and *Magnolia Heights* (1947) with lore of pets, both have their settings in Dallas County and both were Junior Literary Guild selections.

One other Southwestern state has produced excellent writing for children, differing somewhat in the kind of theme and in quantity. Arkansas early contributed the notable fantasy by Albert B. Paine, *Arkansas Bear* (1898). Charles Finger won the coveted Newberry Award for his collection of South American stories, *Tales from Silver Lands* (1924). Charlie May Simon, one of the best known writers of juveniles, lives at Johnswood, Little Rock, Arkansas. Her books tell of the excitement at home for young lads and girls who are discover-

ing the woods, wild life, and people, kindly and harsh, who are nearby. Some of these titles are *Robin on the Mountain* (1934), *Lost Corner* (1935), *Teeny Gay* (1936), *Bright Morning* (1939), and *Faraway Trail* (1940).

The many peoples of the Southwest—each with its distinctive folklore, customs, and proud history—have provided writers with materials that make an appeal to boys and girls of varying ages and tastes. There are books for all—from the little fellow with his love of small animals and birds and flowers to the big girl longing for romance, and the tall boy dreaming of heroic adventure. Never in the history of culture have as well-written and beautifully made books for children been published as are coming off our presses in America today. It is gratifying that so many of these are of the Southwest.

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